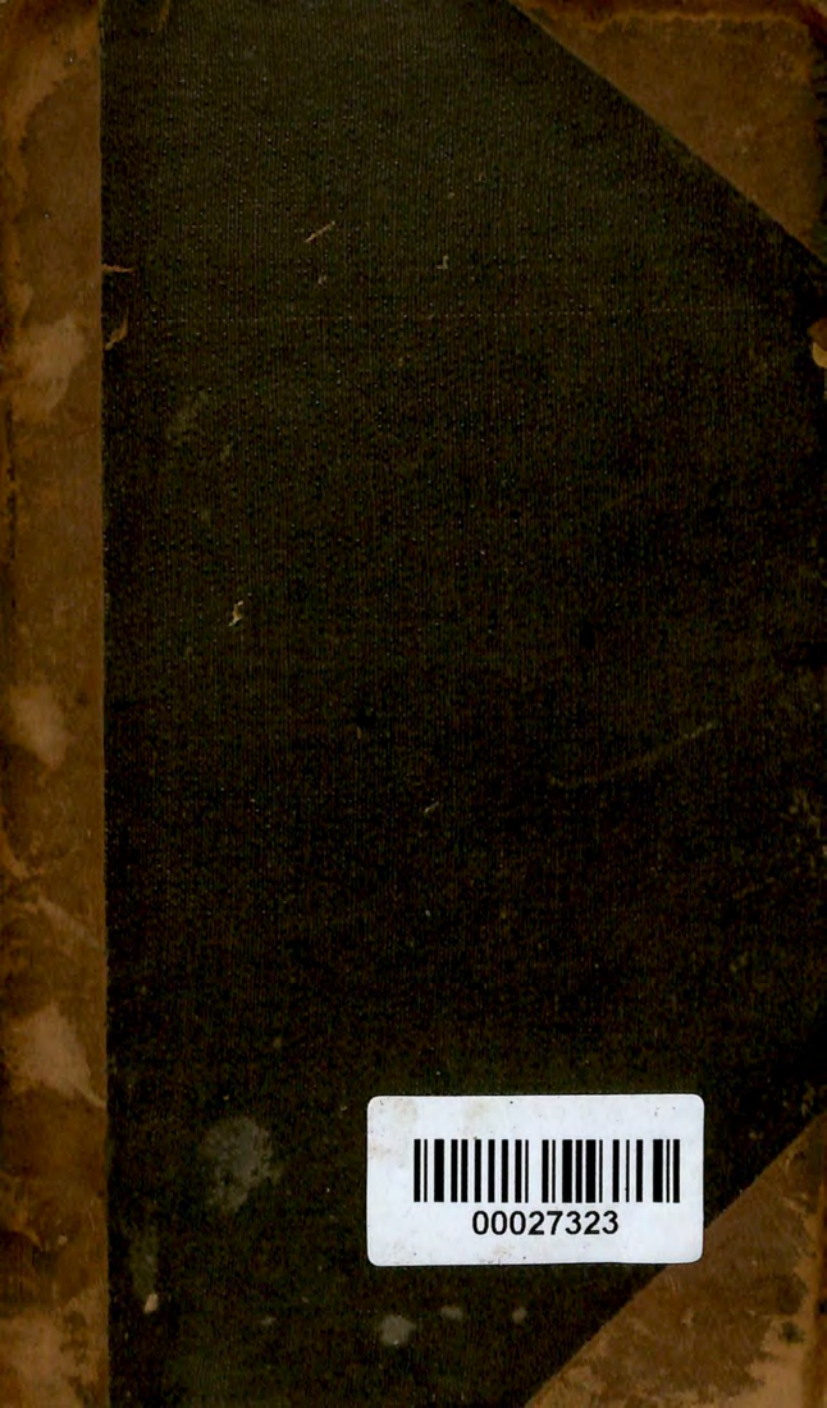
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POLITICAL PORTRAITS,

IN THIS

NEW ÆRA;

WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES—HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

27323

BY

WILLIAM PLAYFAIR,

AUTHOR OF THE POLITICAL ATLAS, THE DECLINE AND FALL OF NATIONS, AND OTHER WORKS.

VOL. I.

Amicus Plato, Amicus Socrates,
Sed Magis Amica Veritas.

LONDON:

Printed by W. McDowall, Pemberton Row, Gough Square.

FOR C. CHAPPLE, BOOKSELLER TO THE PRINCE REGENT,

66, PALL MALL.

1813.

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PREFACE.

WHEN I first determined on publishing the following portraits, I intended doing it under the assumed signature of Albanicus, but a little reflection induced me to alter my design.

Where individual character is to be discussed, I thought candour required that it should be done by an ostensible person, and indeed I feel an apology necessary for ever having circulated a Prospectus of such a work, without my name to it; which I was led to do under the impression that, having no name would attract more curiosity, and consequently draw a greater number of readers. I believe, still, that it would have that advantage, but the reason for avowing myself was more powerful.

My intention in writing this work was, that I might give my sentiments and opinions on a number of subjects of public importance, under the form most likely to obtain attention; and my first idea

was occasioned by the impossibility I found of obtaining the means of making truth approach the ear of the Prince Regent. That any communication containing an unwelcome or unpleasant truth might have been refused presentation, though the refusal might not have been right, it would not have been surprising; but that information in no way disagreeable, but which might have been highly advantageous, should be shut out, surprised me much: I could not then, nor can I now, form any rational conjecture why a prince is surrounded by persons who act on a principle so contrary to every thing that I can conceive to be wise or proper*.

* In the portrait of his Royal Highness the particulars of the case alluded to are explained. There are, indeed, three cases, but the one particularly in view was a Memorial respecting the price of bread, which deserved attention; and it is not a little singular that the truths which could not be attended to, are now brought, in some measure, into evidence by the present worthy Lord Mayor. What a glorious opportunity has the prince lost of making himself the idol of the people! If his ministers do not wish a king of England, or a regent to be admired and loved by the people, (which I think is possible), at least such cannot be the case with private friends. It was on this idea that I first applied to the private friends of the prince, and not till they had refused, did I address myself to a secretary of state.

Do those persons act in consequence of orders received to keep his Royal Highness in ignorance of the wants and wishes of his father's people? Are they forbid to let even useful or agreeable intelligence disturb his royal slumbers, or interrupt his pleasureable pursuits? Such were questions that presented themselves, but to which I could give no answer. Though ignorant of the cause, I cannot help supposing that his Royal Highness knows the world too well, and has too much good sense and good nature not to know that there is great danger in any man, in any situation, refusing to receive, generally and indiscriminately, all communications that may be addressed to him, and in a prince no small degree of rudeness and injustice. The tyrannical and the mild, the wisest and the weakest, and even the worst of princes, act on different principles, with respect to admitting access to their subjects; and those around are only instructed to suppress and withhold what is useless, or improper to be communicated.

If his Royal Highness be ignorant of the fact, then he should be informed of the circumstance, that he may alter it; and if it is his will that it should be as it is, then it is proper, at least, that he should be told, plainly and boldly, this simple

truth, "That there is neither wisdom nor justice in "such conduct."

Curiosity is a leading passion, and mankind are impelled by it to listen to what is said of persons that they know, and from this arises the love of private anecdote, which is so universal.

The portraits of the political characters of the present time, will probably attract some attention, and those who would not listen to the observations attached to the portraits, were they unconnected with persons, will read them when so connected.

Even a prince will wish to know what is said of himself, and what is said of others, I therefore wrote these portraits to procure that attention which otherwise I could not find means to obtain.

A great change has taken place within the last twenty-five years, on the method in which public opinion is acted upon by means of the press: that change has been artfully and gradually brought about; it is much for the worse, but it has been brought about so imperceptibly, and so plausibly, that it excited no alarm at the time, and now there is no means of finding a remedy.

About twenty years ago the press produced a great number of pamphlets, most of which were written by well-intentioned men, who in that man-

ner threw in their proportion to the common stock of knowledge. The great expense of paper and printing, added to the still more enormous expense of advertising in the public papers, have put an end to the labours of those literary volunteers*. Periodical papers have now monopolized the discussion of politics. There is no longer that cool and deliberate sort of discussion that used to take place; neither do we find that originality which occasionally astonished the public, from some unknown, or from some new quarter. The literary champions of the day, who have occupied the political field almost exclusively, are all enlisted under the banners of party; and when by accident any one who is not

* Mr. Pitt, whose management was admirable in some instances, and able in all, knew that any direct attack on the press would be dangerous; but, under the pretence of revenue, he gave it a terrible blow. The booksellers know so well the expense of circulating a pamphlet, that they generally dissuade those who propose publishing in that way. It in fact requires more money to advertise sufficiently in the papers, than any ordinary pamphlet will produce by its sale. Bookseller's discourage such publications; and all those scattered literary patriots who volunteered their service, (those men who were what might be termed the yeomanry of the press), have quitted the field to the more regular mercenaries, who fight in daily, weekly, monthly, or quarterly publications.

connected with party, wishes to address the public in a way that might obtain some attention, he feels all the periodical channels occupied by others, or at least shut against such intruders as himself; and the old mode of address, by pamphlets, having, as before observed, become quite ineffectual, he is condemned to silence; and so far as he is capable of serving his country, his country is deprived of the advantage.

The number of pamphlets published is not above one fourth of what it was, though, according to the important objects that require discussion, it might be expected to be doubled; and what renders the efforts of those literary volunteers less useful, the greatest part of those pamphlets that are published, fall still-born from the press*. The expense necessary to circulate a pamphlet deters the bookseller, who, considering the matter as a mere affair of

* These observations are made to show by what imperceptible means the liberty of the press has been abridged, and by what an indirect method it was attacked, as well as the result of the attack, which is merely this, that editors of newspapers, and the persons they employ, have almost exclusively the management of public opinion, so far as it is guided by temporary publications.

profit and loss, advises the author to stop, when he has expended a few pounds, though he knows, that to advertise sparingly is entirely to throw money away*.

The giving short essays, in the form of notes, to the Political Portraits, appeared to me a good way to obtain attention; and it is with this view that the work was undertaken; but it may be asked—For what purpose do you, in a circuitous manner, attempt to attract public attention? I think the question is natural enough, and very fair, and therefore shall give it an answer. A person who ventures to speak freely of the political conduct of others, ought to be able to give some account of his motives for so doing.

The circumstance of my having been in Paris

* The bookseller is not to be blamed, for if he were to advise expending a sum sufficient to make the pamphlet fairly and fully known, it would probably terminate in greater loss to the author. Unless a pamphlet has what is termed a run, it must end in loss, as at least fifteen copies of a two shilling pamphlet must be sold, for every advertisement inserted, to pay the expense. The size of the newspapers, their multiplicity, and a variety of other circumstances, prevent advertisements, unless very frequently repeated, or announcing some very striking production, from producing almost any effect.

during the last years of the ancient monarchy, when France was such an agreeable country, and the French so pleasant a people; as well as during the first years of the revolution, which converted the seat of ease and pleasure into one of misery and woe*; led me naturally to seek for the connection between the cause and the event. At the same time that my mind was thus set upon observation and inquiry, my feelings were acted on in a most sensible manner, so that the character of a violent reforming patriot, and of a modern philosopher, preaching up equality, became my detestation, and the government of the many my greatest dread†. The impression made on my mind was lively, forcible, and perma-

* The misery and woe began from the first hour of the revolution, though it was disguised, at first, under the appearance of an effort to produce a better order of things. As to the former government, it was improvident, wasteful, and corrupt; but under it the people were happy, and with moderate exertion, instead of violent revolution, France might have been made the most delightful country in the world.

† Those who attend only to theory may still admire the government of the many, but those who have seen its practical effect will shudder. The philosophers, themselves, who led the way, were the first to disapprove of their own work. Of this, many instances will be given in the notes to the Political Portraits.

nent, and every line that I have written on political subjects, shews that it has never varied. With that manner of feeling; and that love for my country which every man ought to have, I endeavoured to turn my observations to some useful purpose. To oppose the admiration of the French constitution, that threatened the extension of French principles, was my first view. I saw that those who viewed the revolution from a distance, and who were unacquainted with the French character, were led to make a false estimate of its nature and consequences; and I well knew the danger of the principles, and the villainy of the men by whom they were promulgated*; and I have

* A distinction is to be made between some well-intentioned men with moderate views, who only aimed at a removal of abuses, and those wicked demagogues who, taking advantage of the effervescence and confusion of the times, became the leaders of the multitude, and led on to murder, and every species of crime; who, in the words of Raynal, one of the philosophers, "by a species of infernal magic, converted, in eighteen months, a magnificent and happy kingdom, into a den of robbers, murderers, and thieves!" We are not to forget that the man who says this, was himself one of those writers who had led to the revolution; but he had too much wisdom not to see, and too much virtue, not to abandon and condemn, such a ruinous system. Mr. Burke foresaw the consequences. Abbe Raynal, and

never ceased to labour in preventing a similar revolution in England, so far as I had means and ability.

I do not expect to be considered as impartial; and if by partiality is meant giving preference to one system of government more than another, I glory in such partiality. I should blush for myself if I had not supported the views of the British government, in opposition to the wild miscreants who acted with Robespierre, or the insolent directory that established despotism in the place of anarchy, and the present ruler of France, (Buonaparte), who has in his own person combined the power of the whole, which he exerts for the subjugation of the world, and the extinction of liberty amongst men.

Every thing that I have written shews that I had a decided preference for the British government, and the system it pursued; and this decided preference, acted on by the feelings of which I have spoken, in regard to the change produced during my residence in France, has made me take

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many others, acknowledged their error after it was too late; but Mr. Fox, and a number of our wise men in England, would never see the error committed by the French, in aiming at a degree of liberty incompatible with the imperfect nature of man.

a lively interest in political events, and on many occasions express myself warmly. I have never changed, and never been indifferent.

Conceiving that the present moment is highly important, and that a great change is immediately about to take place, I thought it might be useful to give to the public the following portraits. The change that I foresee is very near at hand, and inevitable, though I do not pretend to know its nature, as that depends on some future events.

The struggle in Europe has now become so violent that it must soon terminate in the crushing the tyrant, or in submitting to his will. I do not speak of which of the two is the more likely to take place, I speak of the alternative; it must be one or the other. Now, if the tyrant should succeed (which may the Almighty avert) in extending his sway over the continent, Britain, with abridged resources, will be under the necessity of continuing the contest, the expenses of which are every day augmenting at a most alarming rate.

If, on the other hand, the ambitious despot fails, the continent will be free, and there will probably be a long period of peace: but even in that event, England, in which the value of

money* is so different from what it is in all other countries, will have great difficulties to encounter.

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* A statistical table, on a new and more comprehensive plan than any before published, is given in an Essay on the Balance of Power, by W. Playfair, and published by J. Stockdale, Piccadilly. The relative value of money in different countries is there stated from the best authorities, and on the estimates of persons who have lived in the different countries at a late period. It is plain that accuracy is unattainable, but it is equally plain that it is not necessary in such a table. In the same work it is stated, that England has expended above 600 millions to save Europe from being reduced by the power of France; and it is recommended to make one great effort to support the great Emperor of Russia, and the other powers, with the money they may want to bring the contest to a fortunate issue. If ten, or even twenty millions are required for that purpose, they ought to be granted, as one year more of war will cost us fifty millions. As such is our scale of expense, and as Britain cannot assist with men, (and as she is the only country in which loans of money can be made at present), it would be unpardonable not to assist with money. Had the British ministers furnished money in 1806, the peace of Tilsit would never have taken place. It is perhaps better that the contest should have continued till the powers of Europe, seeing one common danger, should make one common cause; but that was no excuse for withholding money in 1806, as such a result neither was nor could be foreseen, nor even expected. The madness and folly of Buonaparte in penetrating into Russia in the beginning of winter,

Men and capital will be transferred to other countries. The rents of land, and prices of articles of the first necessity, will be reduced, and the taxes must fall off; and it is known from the experience of all nations, and all times, that when the finances fail, governments fall. Convinced, then, that in either alternative, the issue of this struggle must bring on a crisis in the affairs of Britain, and persuaded that any such would be injurious to the country, I have wished to explain, in a brief manner, some things which appear to me may be useful towards preparing those who rule, and those who are ruled, for averting the probable danger, which they do not at present appear to foresee.

The steps that seem to be most necessary to preserve tranquillity in this country, in either case are nearly the same.—First. Economy in public expenditure. Second. Steady perseverance in Mr. Pitt's plan for paying off the national debt.—Third. The abandonment of Mr. Pitt's plan about the price of provisions.—Fourth. An effort on the part of the wealthy, to assist in reducing the debt.—And last, though not

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the bravery and skill of the Russian armies, the firmness and magnanimity of the emperor, astonished all mankind, and certainly were not expected.

least, our joining with a firm resolution to resist all theoretical reforms; together with a disposition to make practical and safe ameliorations, both in Britain and Ireland.

On these important subjects it is that I have endeavoured to give my views in the portraits, and the notes, which, with the assistance of the index will easily be found.

The infringement on the sinking fund, by Mr. Vansittart, I consider as one of the most rash and hardy steps that has yet been taken with respect to finance, and its natural tendency is to lead to very great difficulties and dangers, which may not be felt till too late to provide a remedy. At all events the step taken shews a bold spirit, rather disproportioned to the abilities of the man by whom it is displayed, and not quite becoming a person, who at a humble, and a great distance used to look with admiration to William Pitt.

Admiring, as I do, the spirit by which the present ministers are guided, I am very far from admiring many of their acts; and I consider them altogether as unconscious of the very important, but approaching crisis.

Mr. Pitt was the founder of the present system, and the present men are his followers. They are

right—they cannot do better. But Mr. Pitt had foresight, and above all, had the courage to encounter danger, and the magnanimity to persevere. In his plans there was nothing mysterious, nothing of the state juggler. When he wanted to reduce the debts of the state, he raised a revenue for the purpose. He did not amuse us with volumes of calculations, (where algebra and arithmetic danced the hayes like the sun and moon in Bays's Rehearsal), as was done by Lord Henry Petty, and the present chancellor of the exchequer; nor did he profess to carry on the war without new taxes. William Pitt was above either pretexts that were illusory, or contrivances that were dangerous; and it would be well that those who wish to support the same good cause, would pursue the same means of doing it that he so successfully pursued.

I am aware that it will be said that this is a ministerial work—that it is to support party. In answer to that assertion I have to appeal to what I have written for these more than twenty years, on political subjects, without ever receiving a single favour from ministers, and with a certainty that if I had chosen to write in support of opposite principles, I might have been well supported; but the truth is, ministers had no interest in rewarding me. I did

not write to serve them, but to serve a cause which my residence in France convinced me was a good one*; and if the present publication serves the present ministers, it will only be in so far as it serves the country: for I repeat, that though I approve highly of the end they have in view, I do not think they take the right means to obtain that end, and I think it my duty to say so, and to show of what it is that I disapprove.

It will perhaps be said also, that I am not impartial when I speak of the royal family; that I in particular shew a disposition to plead the cause of, and defend her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. I have an explanation to give here also.

I saw that the French nation was ruined by an attack on royalty, which began by traducing the

* Before I left France, early in 1791, I wrote a work to prove that the constitution of 1789, as it is termed, carried with itself the seeds of anarchy. That it would speedily be overturned, being full of inconsistencies and contradictions, as well as being founded on an imaginary degree of perfection, which never did nor never can exist in this world. I had not then any intention of returning to England, for though I was convinced the constitution could not stand, yet I imagined the theorists would be contented with trying to remedy its defects: but those gentry knew nothing short of radical reform, and they always destroyed what existed whenever they began any thing new.

king, and all the members of the royal family: all those who were supposed to be the favourites of his majesty, or of the queen, were also calumniated, and every foible converted into vice or criminality*. It further was discovered that those calumnies originated in the blackest intentions, were productive of the worst effects, and were entirely without foundation.

In one word, having seen that the ruin of a nation was begun by calumniating the sovereign and his family; and observing that the same plan was pursuing in England, as far as the virtues of their Majesties rendered calumny practicable; and that, with respect to the rest of the family, not so

* Without having been in France, it is impossible fully to conceive how extravagantly these calumnies were conceived and propagated. The king, because he was a plain honest man, was represented as a sort of idiot, a glutton, and drunkard. The queen was accused of every vice of which a queen can be guilty, and amongst other things, of sending large sums to her brother the emperor. Adversity, however, tried all, and proved the falsity of those assertions. The king shewed himself to be a good, moral, and religious man, and his defence proved he did not want ability. As to her Majesty, great rewards were offered for any one that would accuse her, yet none was found. As to the money said to be sent to her brother, it was all a fiction.

protected, the abuse was unbounded*: seeing further, that this practice, which originated with the anarchists, who wanted to abolish all royalty, is now continued by the abettors and emissaries of the ruler of France, (who wishes to abolish all the old dynasties), I have long endeavoured, and I still endeavour, to counteract such wicked and dangerous calumnies.

The hostility to royalty has changed its nature, but it exists in other respects the same as formerly; and the same men who were hostile to kings on republican principles, are now hostile to the same thrones, and favour the views of a despot. The danger, though changed in its nature and form, is not diminished, but is rather augmented.

I am far from thinking that what I have written

* The moral characters of their Majesties were not only invulnerable, but they extorted praise even from enemies. Unfortunately, circumstances prevented the sons from imitating the virtues of the father, and they have been loaded with abuse from every quarter. In these portraits I have endeavoured to set matters in what appears to me to be their proper light. I vindicated his Majesty's political conduct during his reign: and I have in these portraits shewn that the princes are improperly treated in respect to public opinion, as it regards them.

will be approved of by princes, or persons in high situations. I know them well; indiscriminate praise is what they want; and to venture on criticism is to commit offence.

In respect of the Prince Regent, what I have said in his praise I am persuaded will be far overbalanced by what I have said of the Princess, and of those by whom he is himself surrounded. If I wanted to please, rather than to render service, it would be wisdom to flatter his confidents; for through them does the prince hear and see, and through them does he dispense his favours: at all events I should have maintained silence respecting the Princess of Wales, or at least have avoided speaking in her favour or defence.

There appears to me to be a great disposition in the many to judge harshly of the royal family, without considering circumstances that ought to be taken into account, and of this propensity there are a number of revolutionists who wish to take advantage. Those who delight in blackening exalted characters, are dangerous men, and I avow my wish to expose their designs, and counteract the effect that they are intended to produce.

What a torrent of blood has been shed in Europe,

in consequence of listening to the designing men who stirred up the people against the virtuous Louis, and his innocent, but unhappy, and unsuspecting family!! What misfortunes have arisen from calumniating public men, and ascribing to them wrong motives!!

With all this before our eyes, and seeing that in the place of those mild and calumniated persons, has arisen an unexampled tyrant, surrounded with half a million of assassins, who are ready to execute his orders, and labour to enchain mankind, how can we listen with complacency to those who excite similar discontent in England, at the risk of producing a similar result? As I am perfectly convinced that our public men mean all for the best, though they are sometimes mistaken, I have endeavoured, to the extent of my inadequate means, to prevent so lamentable a result.

It may be said, why suppose that the people of England will err like those of France? Are they not wiser? Are they not better? Have they not the fatal example before them, to teach them to shun a similar error?—I hope they are wiser and better, but I will not admit that they have profited of the example, at least not generally nor sufficiently,

else they would not so willingly lend an ear to those who endeavour to magnify grievances, and thereby excite discontent.

Having now explained my feelings and motives, I have only to add, that the miscellaneous articles are to be found by the Index. The portraits must be judged of from a perusal of them, and it is to be hoped they will not be found to belie what was announced concerning them in the following prospectus, which has been distributed.

AS there never was a more important era than the present, so was it never more useful to take a fair view of those political characters, who flourish, guide, and direct public affairs.

These portraits are intended to delineate the leading men as they are, without flattering their vanity by praise undeserved, or gratifying the malignity of others, by those ill-natured sarcasms which are sure to please the many, and afflict the individual; to in-

jure the latter, without either informing or benefiting the former: our maxim shall be that of the poet:

> Curst be the lines, how well soe'er they flow,
> Which tend to make one worthy man my foe.

We shall not take any imaginary degree of virtue for a standard, but the fair, honourable English character, such as it has been; and we shall never expose the foibles of the man who deserves well of his country: nor shall we screen the selfish vanity of those who, possessed of great fortunes, and the means of doing much good, seem to live but for themselves, and to be dead to the calls of humanity.

There is always, in every age and nation, some particular bias and propensity to influence the character and conduct of the great. Our principal business shall be to direct that bias or propensity to some useful purpose when good, or to counteract it when bad. This we shall attempt, not by precept, but by example; and we observe with pain, that the firmness of the English character, and that bold decision which are so useful and so admirable in great affairs, are now mistaken for inflexibility! It is thought beneath the dignity of a great man (a man of place or power) to acknowledge error,

and change his conduct: he perseveres at his peril. This may often be bold, and is the opposite of cowardice; but it is likewise often the opposite of wisdom: such men only yield to necessity, and it is the prevailing feature of the English character at this time. Perhaps the inflexibility of Mr. Pitt, who guided affairs for so long a term, has had some influence on the English way of thinking and acting: for the example of one whom we esteem and admire is often followed when it is neither estimable nor admirable.

Looseness of morals, prodigality, and meanness, will all find a check; for when properly depicted, they excite feelings of hatred, disgust, and contempt. But we remark with pleasure, that the prevalent vices of the age rather proceed from want of thought, and a blind, easy compliance with fashion and custom; there are none of those criminal characters, none of those flagrant transactions that have stained the annals of great countries when about to fall, such, for example, as preceded the fall of the Roman republic, or of the empires of the West and of the East.

In comparison with moderns, the English character stands high: cowardice or treachery have

brought on the ruin of most of the continental states; but amongst Public Men in England, we have neither found a coward nor a traitor, and our enemies know that it is useless to seek for such characters amongst us. And we can assure those who honour this work with their support, that the facts are from good authority, and the observations dictated by candour.

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AN ESSAY

ON THE

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE BRITISH NATION.

It is necessary to say the general character, for the English nation is remarkable, and stands above most others in a variety of ways.

The great business of English people appears to have been to struggle to obtain liberty, and now it seems to be to maintain it. In peace, it is the only public question, in which all men take a part: in war, it is never forgotten, and even the glory of the nation, and its safety, are secondary objects. Why is this so? Because Englishmen feel that liberty is the foundation on which all

other blessings depend: without liberty they would all vanish way.

Even in times of ignorance, the History of England contains little that is important except her struggles for liberty; and singular enough it is, that in every quarrel, and in every contest, whatever might be the case for the moment, those who contended for liberty in England, ultimately gained the day. In other countries it has been the reverse in most cases, and arbitrary power has generally triumphed over the exertions of the friends of freedom*. In France, despotism

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* In France, the parliaments, who were only courts of justice, had many glorious struggles with their monarchs for liberty. They were composed of men of merit and firmness, but the general spirit of the people was wanting to support them, so that the struggles, however honourable to the parliaments, ended in only increasing the power of the kings. This was, and continued, till the parliaments, finding they could not succeed, joined with the people in calling for the states-general, the constitutional representa-

is triumphant: in Denmark, though mild, it is still despotism: in Sweden, nothing is permanent: in Poland, the struggle for freedom triumphed over the throne, but the nation became a prey to faction, and fell under a foreign influence. Amongst the other kingdoms and principalities of Europe, there were no struggles in the cause of liberty: there the people were more alive to a new impost, or some regulation of finance, than

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tive of the people. The excellent monarch who reigned in France, who was any thing but a despot, was willing to do every thing to make his people happy. Never was there such a general wish for a reform, and an increase of national happiness by any people. The king himself joined in approving of any change that might be conducive to happiness: and the privileged orders (generally speaking) emulated each other in giving up obnoxious privileges. Yet we know how all this terminated; after a deluge of blood, crimes of every description, and misery without example, the despotism is greater than ever! Such has hitherto been the result of French struggles for liberty.

any thing relative to the general cause of liberty: so that the thing on which England sets its greatest value, was, with most nations, held in no esteem, and not sought for; and with those who did seek for it, its nature was mistaken; or for some other cause the attempts ended in a diminution of freedom, in place of its increase.

Thus then it is that England stands alone; and there is no European nation that bears any resemblance to it except Holland, during about 150 years of its existence; but in latter times cabal and intrigue for factious purposes superseded the true exertions for freedom.

The modern Dutch, however, bear no resemblance to the British people: so that in fact there is not in Europe any nation that resembles this, either in its generous love of freedom, or in its knowledge of the nature of liberty.

In the British character individually there are many defects; though it is not equalled by the individual character of the people of

any other country; but the general mass of character, if the expression may be allowed, is almost unexceptionable: that is, in other words, the national character*.

At all times since England began to take a part in continental affairs, the generosity, and high sense of honour which it has manifested have been great beyond example in the history of the world. The Roman people, who offer the finest specimen of greatness of mind, and manliness of character, had only the generosity of despotic masters. They never protected any nation but in order to

* The English are formal, and frequently what appears rude and repulsive, to strangers; and instead of trying to counteract this natural disposition, seem rather to be proud of it. This defect is more apparent of late years, amongst the higher classes, since intercourse with the continent of Europe has been interrupted. The travelled Englishman was always found to be very different from the Englishman who had formed his manners entirely at home.

subdue it in the end; and the whole of their policy, even in the most wholesome days of the republic, went no farther than to preserve liberty at home, and extend conquests abroad. It is true they were generous conquerors, and improved and instructed those whom they enslaved: but their grand maxim, which was to rule as widely as possible, was totally incompatible with that true and generous greatness of character which acts on a disinterested principle.

The love of country is one of the best and purest motives of action, if not carried beyond what is just and right with respect to other nations; but all the virtues of the ancient Romans could not hide the iniquity and injustice of invading inoffensive people.—In modern France we have seen the full enormity of a people seeking its own greatness at the expense of every moral principle, and pursuing rapaciously, meanly, and with savage impetuosity, the same plans of conquest that the Romans acted upon with dignity and

firmness, and with as much moderation and generosity as could be combined with plans founded upon the ambition of universal conquest.

Amongst other nations we find none to compare, in any way, with Britain. The government or the sovereign has alone acted, and the people have remained passive instruments, if we except the ancient Greeks, and modern North Americans; but the former, though occasionally acting on great principles, were generally guided by interested and circumscribed views: they were capable of generous and great exertions in the common cause; but envy, hatred of each other, and all the malignant passions reigned, except in the hour of danger.

The modern Americans certainly shone forth bright at the time of their revolution. They fought bravely in defence of their liberties; but ever since, they have shewn an interested line of policy with regard to their general transactions, and a malignant

revengeful spirit towards Great Britain, which are far from honourable*. The character of America is the less honourable, that the great Washington, their leader and their chief, shewed them a good example. Firm, brave, and inflexible in the hour of contest and of danger, he was moderate, mild, and just when the contest was over; a line of conduct that would have been equally honourable and advantageous for his country.

It is in vain then that we look in ancient or modern times for the example of a people

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* The Americans never paid the balances due to British merchants, and their governments in the different states have such laws as render it difficult for strangers to recover debts. The constant irritability towards Britain during a contest where Britain fought for the freedom of the world, ill became a free nation founded and protected by England. An English colony, indebted to England for all that she possessed, and become independent, because she became great and powerful under the protecting wings of England.

acting as the English have done, who, though high-spirited, and full of the love of their country, have never thought that its interests were to be pursued at the expense of justice, or by trampling on the rights of other nations.

If we look to the former history of Britain, we find she has at all times assisted oppressed nations; defended the weak against the strong: that she has in fact been the supporter of the weak, the defender of the injured, and the preserver of the liberties of Europe, for more than two centuries. But during the latter period, since the French revolution threatened Europe with general despotism, Britain has shone forth with more than usual splendour*; and in the course of these por-

* The reign of Queen Elizabeth may be considered as the opening of the modern history of England, especially in its connexion with the modern system of Europe, which began about that time to assume the form that it preserved till the French revolution. Philip II. at the head of the

traits we shall shew, whilst she has been calumniated by her enemies, how admirable in fact has been her conduct.

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greatest empire then in the world, was openly aiming at universal dominion; and his project was so far from being thought chimerical, by the wisest of his contemporaries, that in the opinion of the great Duc de Sully, he must have been successful, "if, by a most singular combination of circumstances, he had not at the same time been resisted by two such strong heads as those of Henry IV. and Queen Elizabeth." To the most extensive and opulent dominions, the most numerous and disciplined armies, the most renowned captains, and the greatest revenue, he added also the most formidable power over opinion. Elizabeth was among the first objects of his hostility. That wise and magnanimous princess placed herself in the front of the battle for the liberties of Europe. She aided the oppressed inhabitants of the Netherlands, in their just and glorious resistance to his tyranny: she aided Henry the Great in suppressing the abominable rebellion which anarchial principles had excited, and Spanish arms had supported in France; and after a long reign of various fortune, in which she preserved her unconquerable spirit through great cala-

The Spanish monarch wished and attempted to subdue the rest of Europe, in the end of the 16th century, and began with attacking

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mities, and still greater dangers, she at length broke the strength of the enemy, and reduced his power within such limits as to be compatible with the safety of England, and of all Europe. Her only effectual ally was the *spirit of her people;* and her policy flowed from that magnanimous nature which in the hour of peril, teaches better lessons than those of cold reason: her great heart inspired her with a higher and a nobler wisdom, which disdained to appeal to the low and sordid passions of her people, even for the protection of their low and sordid interest; because she knew, or rather, she felt, that these are effeminate, creeping, cowardly, short-sighted passions, which shrink from conflict, even in defence of their own mean objects. In a righteous cause she roused those generous affections of her people which alone teach boldness, constancy, and fore-sight, and which are therefore the only safe-guardians of the lowest as well as the highest interests of a nation. In her memorable address to her army, when the invasion of the kingdom was threatened by Spain, this woman of heroic spirit, disdained to speak to them of their

England; when England bravely and generously assisted the French, the Dutch, and the provinces of Brabant and Flanders, to re-

ease and their commerce, and their wealth and their safety. No, she touched another chord! She spoke of their national honour; of their dignity as Englishmen, of "the foul scorn that Parma or Spain *should dare* to invade the borders of her realms!" She breathed into them those grand and powerful sentiments which exalt even vulgar men into heroes; which led them into the battle of their country, armed with holy and irresistible enthusiasm, which even cover with their shield all the ignoble interests that base calculation and cowardly selfishness tremble to hazard, but shrink from defending. That wise and great queen knew the great and generous character of the English nation; she appealed to that, and roused those feelings, which, on more than one occasion have rendered England irresistible. Lord Bacon, in one part of his discourse on her reign, speaks thus of her support of Holland: "But let me rest upon the honourable and continual aid and relief she hath given to the distressed and desolate people of the low countries; a people recommended unto her by ancient confederacy and daily intercourse; by their cause so innocent, and their

sist oppression, and she succeeded. In the end of the 17th century Louis XIV. of France had similar plans of ambition, and again

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fortune so lamentable!" In another passage of the same discourse, he thus speaks of the general system of her foreign policy, as the protector of Europe, in words too remarkable to require any commentary: "Then it is her goverment, and her government alone, that hath been the source and fort of all Europe, which hath kept this proud nation from over-running all. If any state be yet free from his factions, erected in the bowels thereof; if there be any state wherein this faction is erected, that is not yet fired with civil troubles; if there be any state under his protection that enjoyeth moderate liberty, upon whom he tyrannizeth not; it is the mercy of this renowned queen that standeth between them and their misfortunes!"

The next great conspirator against the rights of men and nations, against the security and independence of all European states, against every kind and degree of civil and religious liberty, was Louis XIV. In his time the character of the English nation was the more remarkably displayed, because it was counteracted by its own apostate and perfidious government. During great part of his reign,

Britain stood foremost in the field for the protection of the liberties of mankind. In the end of the 18th century the French

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we know that the throne of England was filled by princes who deserted the cause of their country, and of Europe; who were the accomplices and the tools of the oppressor of the world; who were even so unmanly, so unprincely, so base, as to have sold themselves to his ambition; who were content that he should enslave the continent, if he enabled them to enslave Great Britain. These princes, traitors to their own royal dignity, and to the feelings of the generous people whom they ruled, preferred the condition of the first slave of Louis XIV. to the dignity of the first freeman of England. Yet even under these princes, the feelings of the people of this kingdom were displayed on a most memorable occasion, towards foreign sufferers, and foreign oppressors. The revocation of the edict of Nantz, threw fifty thousand French protestants on our shores: they were received, as we trust the victims of tyranny ever will be in this land, which seems chosen by Providence to be the home of the exiled, the refuge of the oppressed: they were welcomed by a people high-spirited as well as humane; who did not insult them by clandestine charity; who did not fear the

nation, under a new aspect, and under the pretence of making all the world free, has attempted to make all the world slaves; and Britain has constantly resisted the attempt, in which above six hundred millions of British money have been expended.

The transactions are so recent, and belonging, many of them, to the portraits of living men, we shall only here observe, that the same generous nation that resisted the cruel Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, above two centuries ago, and that received with open arms those who fled from his persecution, did with equal readiness resist the arms of Louis XIV. and at the same time receive the fugitives whom his cruel policy drove from France above one century ago. And, in our own days, we have seen the same generous nation

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anger of the Grand Monarque in such a cause; and who scorned to shrink from the danger attendant on a good action.

fighting to save Europe against the oppression of France; and protecting those fugitives whom the injustice of the rulers expelled, whether princes, priests, or people; all were well received, and it was sufficient to be the victim of oppression, to receive aid and assistance from England.

But to appreciate properly the magnanimity and the generosity of this conduct, we must observe, that the British people, who are divided into political parties, never unite completely in one effort, but when the generous and magnanimous impulse acts on their minds.

When Britain has fought for territory, or any specific British object, the nation has been generally divided in opinion, though its interests were evident enough; but aid to Spain, (though she was at war with us), when she was betrayed, deceived, and oppressed, becoming a matter in question, there was but one voice in the nation, and the same people who are divided when the question is

one of interest, was not only unanimous, but enthusiastic in the cause of an oppressed nation of enemies.

In our own concerns at home we are caviling, discontented, and divided into party; but when to relieve the oppressed, or to reward merit is the question, all paultry considerations are banished at once. Such is the character of the British nation!! As a nation, it is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the enemies of freedom detest England, since the English character constantly impels the nation to defend the cause of liberty with a disinterestedness and generosity which it does not manifest on other occasions.

Such then to us appears the British character: it is far from being perfect; but, according to the standard of human nature, it stands at the highest point on the scale of honour and magnanimity:

" For even its errors lean to virtue's side!"

BRITISH NOBLEMEN.

From one end of Europe to the other, the British nobility are held in the highest estimation, by those who yet remember to have seen a British nobleman: but it happens most strangely that at home the character of the British peer is not held in such high esteem as in foreign countries.

In England (where unfortunately money is rather too eager an object of pursuit) the representative of an ancient family, surrounded as it were, by hereditary expenses, as well as in the enjoyment of a hereditary fortune, is contrasted with the man of yesterday; with the citizen who has risen at once to opulence, or the returned nabob, who have no employment for wealth but that sort of luxury and ostentation that surround their persons.

The moderation and equality of conduct of the man born to enjoy fortune, when compared

with the lavish expenditure of the mushroom-man suffers in the eyes of those who only look at the outside of things; as the blazing and passing meteor that shines for a moment, and ends in smoke, attracts more notice than all the steady stars that shine in the firmament, that have long shone, and will still longer shine.

It requires not so much a near, as an attentive and unbiassed observer to appreciate the true merits of the British nobility, who, in common with the nobility all over Europe, have, for more than half a century, been studiously held up to contempt, as being men of light minds, small capacities, and of insignificant avocation.

The bringing of nobility into contempt was a deeply laid and widely extended plan; when the French, who generally lead the way in innovation, succeeded with respect to their own nobility: and had it not been for their impatience, and want of moderation, they might have had imitators in every nation in

Europe, but their impetuosity and impatience defeated the plan.

When the feudal system fell, nobility could no longer depend on force for its protection; it therefore stood in need of the support of opinion*: but so far were the most part of the nobles from seeing the necessity of this support, that though they all individually wished to be respected, and receive the honour due to their rank, yet they heedlessly joined in laughing at the order to which they belonged, and their enemies carefully took the advantage. The great mass of mankind will always be ready to assist in abolishing distinction of ranks, by which they feel hu-

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* In feudal times, the nobles had armies of their own, composed of vassals, who protected their masters as if they had been independent princes, and who joined the king in his wars. Standing armies did away, by degrees, with these, and the nobility lost their power and importance without a struggle, or perceiving in what all must terminate at last.

miliated; and men who have amassed money, but have no rank or title, will generally be ready to lend their powerful assistance, so that there is no doubt that if the nobles of a country do not act so as to have opinion for their support, there will not long be any hereditary nobility*.

The character of lightness and frivolity, that rendered the counts and marquisses on the continent fit objects for ridicule on the stage, and in the writings of men of wit who led public opinion in such matters, does not, however, apply to the British nobility. In Britain we have no men who enjoy the rank of peers, who are not able to support it.—Their numbers are not considerable, and

* The nobility are peculiarly placid and correct in their conduct; but those advantages are naturally, like all others, allied to certain defects: as for example, the placid correct man is apt to be cool and indifferent; this, in the times we live, is dangerous, for the enemies of the ancient system are warm and impetuous.

they are for the most part affluent; and with a few exceptions, act in a way becoming men of rank and fortune, so that, individually, they are respectable and respected, though, like the nobles on the continent, they do not seem aware of the designs carrying on against them, which, notwithstanding all that we have seen in other countries of misery and woe are not abandoned*.

There has lately been a work published, from which it appears that the nobility of the three kingdoms do, according to their

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* Though new nobility are rising up on the continent, they do not appear to be hereditary, but entirely connected with military service and personal exertion. The system of equality, in its extreme latitude, is entirely abandoned, as impracticable and absurd, but at the same time the respect for antiquity of race, or for the honours of ancestry, no longer exists. Upstarts are the masters of a great part of the world, and it must require ages to restore that respect for an honourable lineage that has led to so many honourable actions.

numbers, furnish more men of merit, as statesmen, soldiers, men of letters, and even inventors in the arts, than the large class of men who enjoy affluence and are well educated, but have neither rank nor title.*

To the peers, as a body, England owes much indeed: they first obtained the charter from king John, which serves as the basis of our liberties; they soon afterwards compelled the sovereign to assemble the representatives of the commons from counties and boroughs: and what is most to their praise, in every struggle for liberty, though the nobility stood honourably foremost in the battle, they never

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* It may perhaps be impossible, in times like the present, to bring people back to the respect they formerly had for hereditary rank; but the statement of facts must always in some degree influence opinion: and the fact is, that of about 1500 noble individuals, 97 have been of distinguished abilities; which is above three times the proportion amongst other men of education and affluence. See Playfair's Family Antiquity, Conclusion to Vol. IV.

fought for themselves and their order, but for the people at large. That conduct was admirable; and what is not less so is, that they saw the house of commons rise to its present importance without jealousy, being, as it appears, at all times contented with sharing the benefits of liberty with their fellow subjects.

The moderation and wisdom of the house of peers has, on more than one occasion, saved the nation from great misfortune; so that neither for utility as a body, nor for individual merit and virtue, are the British nobility to be considered as useless to the state, or unconducive to national prosperity: and in defiance of modern reformers* it must

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* The reform in parliament, *upon principle*, as it is sought after, must, if ever brought about, end in destroying the house of peers: they will then be for having a senate, like the Americans or the French; for the reformers set no value on an institution merely because it is found useful: To please those gentlemen every thing must be done by

be admitted, with Mr. Burke, that the nobility constitute the Corinthian order of society, and that while they assist in supporting, they greatly adorn the edifice; for without an independent body, who have power for life, without election, to controul an elected and temporary house of commons, liberty could not long be preserved.

BRITISH GENTLEMEN.

Except in their legislative capacity, as peers, a British gentleman resembles greatly the British nobleman, of whom we have already given the portrait, with some shades of difference.

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rule and system: like the physician in one of Molliere's plays, who held that, "better kill by rule, than cure by irregular practice."

In other countries the word that is equivalent to gentlemen with us, has some relation to the family, or official situation of the person to whom it is applied; but in England it has not necessarily any connection with either, for it rather applies personally to the qualities and actions of the man, than to his situation in life, with which it however is so far connected, and on which it so far depends, as the qualities and actions of men must always depend on their situation in a greater or more remote degree*. To illustrate this, a continental sovereign can make a man a gentleman†, or the purchasing of an estate, or of an office; but in England it is a word

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* A man with all the honourable principles, and even talents, who depends on manual labour for bread, cannot be called a gentleman, though in mind and manners he may be such.

† A man who cut the hair of dogs upon the Pont Neufe at Paris became a gentleman by purchasing an estate that belonged to one of that class.

well understood, and implies a man with a cultivated mind, and a conduct correct and honourable: and to the honour, as well as advantage of this nation, it is by no means a rare character, but to be met with amongst men of business, as well as men of independent fortune and professional men.

MEN OF BUSINESS.

As the character of the British gentleman bears a near resemblance to that of the nobleman, so that of the man of business is much blended with that of the gentleman; insomuch that in the same person the gentleman and man of business are very frequently found combined.

The general character of men of business in England, is being honourable and punctual in their dealings, joined with a thorough knowledge of such affairs as they undertake

to manage, which is greatly owing to a sort of division of skill and attention, something similar to the division of labour that takes place in mechanical labours*, which division of skill and attention is carried to a greater length in this country than in any other.

The man of business of course includes people of very different degrees of wealth and importance, who in their manners have not much resemblance; but who resemble each other much in their general character for honour in their dealings, punctuality, and a certain liberality in their way of trading, that

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* Mr. Adam Smith, in his Wealth of Nations, has attributed the great dexterity of workmen, the cheapness of many articles of manufacture, and the excellence of the work, to the division of labour, which enables men of very ordinary capacities to attain great excellence and dexterity in operations so frequently repeated. In our mercantile affairs, and business in general, something similar takes place: we seldom find one man embracing opposite objects in his line of business.

enables them to transact a great deal of business in a short time.

In most countries, the principle of buying cheap and selling dear, which is the foundation of mercantile speculation, and indeed of all business transactions, is carried to an extreme; that the English man of business avoids; and that principle is tempered with another that is very honourable to the British character, and very beneficial to the community at large; namely, to allow others to have a fair profit, and not to do business at an under price. The general effect of this is beneficial almost beyond comprehension, as it facilitates the transaction of business, and makes affluence general amongst those who live by it. A contrary conduct makes business go on with great difficulty and little advantage.

In England, commercial people are generally in greater affluence than in any other part of the world; and fortunes are made more rapidly, and in greater numbers, in

proportion to the whole, than any where else*.

The general punctuality and honour of men of business in England, added to the freedom and security of property, have inspired a degree of confidence that was never equalled in any country, and one that produces the happiest effects. The scarcity of gold, which in other countries would have been ruinous to credit, in England only roused up commercial men to exertion, and the evil disappeared almost as soon as felt; and whenever any general calamity takes place, it produces general energy and exertion; and

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* The extensive range of meaning of the term man of business, prevents it from being possible to find any general similarity of character: punctuality, honour, and assiduity are particular qualities which they for the most part possess; but while the most wealthy live in a style equal to the nobility, and have frequently as good an education, others are inferior to many labouring artizans in their way of living.

it is very seldom that any man is found sufficiently base, mean, and interested, to seek his own interest at the expense of the general good*.

Whether this conduct, apparently disinterested, arises from that sentiment or not, or whether it is occasioned by the belief that the good of the whole is necessary for the good of the individual, is not of much importance, since the effect is the same, and it is most beneficial, inasmuch as it arrests the progress of calamity, and sometimes turns an untoward event to an advantageous purpose.

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* No man that wishes to support the character of a man of business would (for example) traffic in guineas. In France, when gold and silver began to disappear, every person took all the advantage he could, and so the depreciation greatly increased. Even before the quantity of paper was great, depreciation took place, from large notes to small, for every one took all the advantage he could of existing circumstances. If the people here were of a similar disposition, nobody would change a one-pound note without getting three or four shillings for doing it.

In England the man of business is never above fulfilling punctually the duties of his situation: he considers himself honourably employed when he is attending to his business; and he has a spirit of independence that is both to be envied and admired, and that is not to be found in any other country.

POLITICAL PORTRAITS.

HIS MAJESTY.

Few monarchs have reigned so long, and none during so important a period, as George III. His character will therefore naturally be more or less coloured by the events that have taken place during a reign in which the British empire has stood high amongst nations; and notwithstanding his unexceptionable conduct, and his many virtues, there will not be wanting those who will attribute to his Majesty many of the misfortunes that have overwhelmed mankind during the period that he has swayed the British sceptre.

The great events that have taken place, and their rapid succession, have prevented the minds of most people from taking a fair and true view of circumstances; add to this, that the spirit of party has been very active in misrepresentation.

The two greatest events, are the emancipation of

the North Americans, and the French Revolution. The first was considered as very unfortunate for England, and the second has been disastrous to the whole world. Owing to the reasons mentioned, the British sovereign has been represented as the primary cause of both those unfortunate occurrences. The revolt of America is attributed entirely to the British cabinet; and though the first breaking out of the disturbances in France cannot even by malevolence be ascribed, or by credulity be admitted, to have originated in England, yet to England is attributed the failure of the attempt to establish liberty in France, and the wars that broke out, which have been attended with unexampled disaster, and nearly changed the face of the civilized world.

Nothing, however, can be more mistaken than this view of the matter.

When the English first colonized America, they laid the foundation for that revolt which took place in 1775. It was impossible that so large a country could remain subject to an island at so great a distance; and when the seeds of an event are sowed, by the nature of things, though it may be hastened or retarded, its prevention is impossible.

The Americans wished for representation in the British parliament, but in what must that have

terminated in less than a century? That country, forty times the extent of the British islands, would have contained more inhabitants. Proceeding on the same principle* on which the representation was demanded, the representatives from America must have out-numbered the native British representatives, and, in time, Britain must have become an appendage of America!!

The intrigues of France, the natural ambition of the Americans, and the necessity at some near period of fixing a solid plan of government, and such as might satisfy men educated with principles of freedom, gave energy to the Americans; and as their efforts were crowned with success, the British government was severely censured for the conduct it

* If America had been limited in extent like Ireland, then, indeed, the representative system might have been extended to her; but the American states will contain 150 millions of people. It is one of the greatest misfortunes of those politicians of the present day, who affect to make every thing be regulated upon *principle*, that those who once begin on it must continue, or incur greater blame than if they never had begun Thus, "give us representation," is the first demand; "let that be increased according to our population," will be the second; and the third, "where the majority reside, there let the government be." New York or Philadelphia, or some newly-planned town, would on this plan have contained a government legislating for England at no very distant period.

pursued; but never was a question treated with a greater degree of party spirit, or argued more unfairly, than that between Britain and America, particularly as it regards his present Majesty.

There were only three ways of dealing with the Americans—giving them representation: giving them their liberty, as it has been termed, without a struggle: or maintaining the superiority by force of arms. The first must have ultimately led to the destruction of the mother country. The second would have been attended with a more sudden danger: for this nation never will give up any foreign possession but to force, and therefore no minister could have been found to advise such a measure*, as it must have been done at the risk of losing his head. And as to the third, that was the best: it was the duty of the king of Britain to preserve his kingdom to the best of his power, and so long as the public voice supported him in the contest, he maintained it: when that support was withdrawn, his Majesty did not for one moment wish to persevere.

The emancipation of America was a settled point

* As the British maxim, that "the king can do no wrong," makes the minister responsible, it would have been impossible to find any one to emancipate America.

with the American leaders before his Majesty mounted the throne, and indeed, all that those leaders had to do was to fix the time for the effort, for the event was inevitable, the nature of things called for it: and from what has been said, it is evident his Majesty had no alternative but to try to maintain his authority as long as possible.

The next great measure of the present reign was the war in which the nation is still engaged. This was also an event in causing which his Majesty had no part. England kept aloof as a spectator till neither her honour nor safety would permit her to do so longer*; and though heavy has been the expense, and great the exertion, yet, in the general wreck of Europe, the British islands have escaped, not with diminished, but with increased splendour.

* England did not meddle in the contest till her ally Holland was attacked; she refused to become a party to the treaty of Pilnitz; and when, in the beginning of 1792, war was actually begun on the continent, the British army and navy were placed on the lowest peace establishment. These are indisputable proofs that Britain did not attack France through any wish to prevent the establishment of liberty in that country. In the face, however, of those facts, the enemies of England persist in saying, that she was hostile to the liberties of France—that she made the constitution fail—and that she occasioned the present war; all which are direct falsities.

The disposition to complain is so inherent in the British people, that the present times are always represented as bad, and all the publications on temporary politics since the British press was free are a proof of that. But to go no farther back than the first years of the present reign, when the country was literally overflowing with wealth, were not the discontents greater than almost at any period of British history short of actual rebellion?

His Majesty began his reign by a voluntary sacrifice of a power, that was of great importance to the liberties of the people, namely, the power of removing judges in the courts of justice. This was a great and glorious concession, and let us remember it was voluntary, it was not the consequence of any of those struggles for power on the part of the people that have been so frequent, so honourable, and so advantageous to this kingdom, from the days of King John till the accession of William III.

If in the great external policy of the kingdom his Majesty has acted well, in the internal he has acted still better.

By the establishment of the sinking fund, and keeping it sacred, a remedy has been applied to the increase of national debt; an increase, which if not arrested in its progress, must sooner or later

have destroyed the government by which it was contracted.

If we are not to attribute to his Majesty the loss of America, or the expensive war in which we are now engaged, so neither are we to attribute to him the increase of commerce, the prodigious augmentation of internal wealth during his reign, nor the general improvements that have taken place; but we must grant to his Majesty the palm for steadiness in every good purpose: he has been unwearied in well-doing; and a pattern to his subjects for almost every virtue.

Never did any of the malignant passions find a harbour in the royal breast; no man ever felt his anger, but many have experienced his clemency; and on all occasions he has taken care to shew his detestation of the vicious, and his esteem for virtue. If George III. could not crush the vices of the age, he at least forced them to remain concealed, and to fly the royal presence; and there is no doubt, that during a certain period of the French revolution, when the nation was nearly mad, and just preparing to go into all the extravagances of the day, affection for his Majesty's person, and esteem and admiration of his virtues, had a great share in preventing an explosion; even the lowest and the most ig-

nor'ant have been heard to say, "we must have a change, but God bless his Majesty, let him end his days in peace."

The most malignant could never find any hold on his Majesty further than what might be termed a foible, or a particularity of manner; but as there is not the smallest degree of hypocrisy in his character, he never appeared with that outside show which deludes the multitude, and sometimes obtains great praise*, and at other times secures one from the attack of the wily and malignant.

As in no one instance his Majesty shewed any of those wrong propensities which men find occasion to conceal, so he was above taking any step to give a false eclat to his actions, or steal the affections of his people†.

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* There are three sorts of hypocrisy: that most commonly known by the name, applies only to appearances in religion and morality: the second is an affectation of generosity, when the real end is to produce some personal advantage: and the third is that general hypocrisy that makes some men studiously conceal all their foibles, as well as faults; such men are constantly acting a part; with them all is artificial; they do not so much affect virtue, as to be free from vice; and it is difficult to say, which of the three is the most dangerous character.

† How easily a sovereign in England might appear generous

His Majesty seems to possess that truly honest mind that feels uneasy at obtaining applause that is not deserved; a mind so far from prompting to dissimulation, that it leads the man who possesses it to avoid every action that does not spring from the real feelings of the heart*. There is a sort of shame attends applause, where it is not deserved, which prevents the best of men from attaining the popularity of men far their inferior in every virtue.

One of the chief traits in his Majesty's character is inflexibility in matters of conscience, and this has very unfairly or very ignorantly, been represented as a general inflexibility of charac-

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without any sort of personal sacrifice; indeed more easily than a continental sovereign; for as all that a sovereign, such as the Emperor of Russia or Germany, or a King of Prussia receives in taxes is at his disposal, whatever he gives away is a diminution of his revenue; but a King of England, if he chooses to give away, in acts of generosity, £20,000 a-year, would acquire a popularity that would procure a much greater sum when the deficiencies of the civil list are supplied. He might be a gainer by his bounty.

* Perhaps the greatest distinction between good and bad minds is, that a good mind feels uneasy under undeserved praise; a bad or base-minded man is satisfied, so as he obtains the advantage, whatever may have been the means of obtaining it, and he rather rejoices in the deception under which the world labours on his account.

ter; whereas, whenever the good of the state demanded it, he never consulted either personal feelings, personal conveniency, or his own private wish. How often has his Majesty received into his cabinet men who were to him personally disagreeable, and thereby suffered what many of his subjects would not consent to undergo. It seems certain that in matters of conscience there is no prevailing on his Majesty to make a compromise; and in this accommodating age, when liberal opinions are in fashion, this is considered as at least an antiquated, that is, an old-fashioned awkward way: but let it be remembered by those who belong to the old as well as the new school of philosophers, that in matters of faith, of principle, and conscience, compliance, either from fashion or a desire to please and accommodate, is just as ill-placed as ornamental and fancy work in a mathematical figure.

His Majesty has on some occasions appeared actually, in his own person, to represent all that is respectable of the ancient order of things: as for example, when he reviewed his brave and loyal volunteers, embodied to resist the robbers of France, and in his suite, or around his person were seen, together with his august family, many of the first nobility of this kingdom, the French princes, and the grandson of the great Condé.

But it must remain for future historians to do justice to his many excellent qualities and his virtues, which his cotemporaries and subjects have not been able or willing fully to appreciate*, and which they seem too soon to have forgotten.

HER MAJESTY.

THE history of nations, and the biography of individuals are for the most part composed of details of crimes or misfortunes. Short is the history of the virtuous and the happy. The mildness and moderation of the queen of England, her exemplary conduct, and many virtues, have been conspicuous through the whole of her life, and have been the theme of praise for more than half a century.

The greatest private misfortune of the royal family arises from the ill-advised law about the

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* The vindication of his Majesty above referred to, was published after his last unfortunate illness; and in the present portrait no suspicion of a selfish design to flatter can be suspected; neither is it even supposed that this portrait will be generally pleasing; for at this time "the wind does not blow that way."

marriage of the princes, on which some observations will be freely made; from which has sprung a situation of things that cannot but be highly distressing and embarrassing, and her Majesty has had of that distress and embarrassment her full share.

Great prudence and circumspection of conduct have screened her Majesty from those malignant attacks that are generally directed against royalty; and though society is infested with a detestable set of beings, who delight to invent and fancy defects in the characters of exalted personages, they lost their labour with our virtuous queen; they could not give any appearance of truth or feasibility, or procure credit and circulation to falsehoods, that, like Cain, carried their condemnation on their front.

Possessing both the love and confidence of his Majesty, the queen was never suspected of employing them either to procure patronage or to obtain any indirect purpose; and, to conclude in conformity to the observation with which the portrait began, the virtues which her Majesty is known to possess, are so many, and the imperfections of her character so few, that it is impossible to give extension to the subject.

THE PRINCE REGENT.

If persons of inferior rank in life would consider the great difficulties that princes have to encounter, they would be less inclined to judge with so much severity as they generally do. They ought in the first place to consider that in ordinary life, the vices, the errors, and the foibles of the man, are easily concealed, and that only the careless or imprudent allow half their faults to be known*.

From the beginning of time, from the earliest

* The higher classes do not make sufficient allowance for the vices of the lower orders of society, neither do the lower orders, in judging of their superiors, judge as they ought. The reason appears to be this: the rich and poor are assailed with temptations of different descriptions, and therefore their aberrations and vices are of different descriptions also. They have not any sympathy, or what is commonly called fellow-feeling, which arises from one man towards another only where there is a similarity of feelings. The afflictions arising from the loss of those who are dear to us, are common to all mankind, and we all sympathize with each other on the loss of a son, a father, mother, &c. but we do not sympathize with a lady grieving for the loss of a lap dog: the pain felt by a person who has lost a limb by an accident excites pity, because all are capable of conceiving what he feels, but the pain of Hogarth's enraged musician, though, perhaps, as great, only excites laughter.

periods of recorded history, such has been the situation of princes; and the consequence is, that their characters have been transmitted to us in a more unfavourable light than those of other men, who have ostentatiously displayed their virtues, and cautiously concealed their vices.

To this perpetual and general cause for error, with respect to the characters of princes, must be added another, almost peculiar to the present times, and to the British nation.

It has become a lucrative employment to slander and libel the great, particularly the members of the royal family, which is done with unremitting industry, by a great variety of writers, who assume every form for that purpose, and who are ready to brave the utmost terrors of the law.

There is a sufficient fund of ill nature amongst mankind to make publications that deal in slander be eagerly sought after; but this eagerness is doubly great when the person slandered is of high rank: then envy as well as ill nature is gratified; for though most men are internally convinced that the situation of the great is not enviable, yet the great are, nevertheless, always objects of envy*.

* Nothing is more certain than that happiness does not depend

Libels on the great seem to bring them down nearer the general level, and therefore they give a sort of satisfaction to their readers, and always have done so; but it is only of late years that to write such became a gainful trade, and that the man who might probably starve if he wrote truth or common sense, might live in affluence if he would deal in abuse and slander*. To slander individuals of high rank

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on external appearances; nevertheless, grandeur and splendid shew excite envy: and even the misanthrope, that rails at mankind, does it through spite, more than through conviction. This is one of the cases where reason is led away, in part, by the effect produced on the organs of sense; and in part by that sympathy which leads us to admire and esteem what others admire, though contrary to our better understanding.

* On a late trial about the publication of some libelous matters it appeared that scurrility sells better than any thing else, and that the reviewers of books are severe on the authors in order to procure sale for their own. The jealousy of the liberty of the press, the imperfection of the law of libel, and the ingenuity of writers, all combine to prevent the suppression of what Sir Richard Phillips calls scurrility, but what for the most part would be more properly termed unmeaning, ill-natured ribaldry. When Mr. Cobbett established a newspaper in support of government, though he was supported to a considerable extent, yet the public absolutely would have nothing to do with it: afterwards Cobbett turned round, declared he had made a new discovery; that his former patrons were scoun-

or in public office, and to abuse the measures of government, are the modes by which the public mind is acted upon to create discontent.

In addition to these causes for calumny, it has long been the plan of those who wish for change, to degrade royalty. The French prepared the way for their revolution by this means, and the same method has been tried here ever since their first success: and though their revolution terminated in unexampled misery, yet there are great numbers of persons who wish to effect a change, and to excite

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drels: he abused them without mercy, and he soon purchased an estate!! The talents that could not procure bread when employed in candid discussion or true narrative, enable a man to live in affluence when engaged in violent declamation or hardy assertion; and the law is absolutely unable to restrain this exercise of the pen, as it is better to live at ease in a prison, than to starve at large. As for the disgrace, there is none attaches to the libelling of great men or public characters; for so numerous are the partizans and abettors of such writers, that they convert what is intended to be disgrace into triumph. The evil, however, is not near so great as it appears to be, for those dashing libelists who make assertions without proof, are only read for amusement, and momentary gratification; they are not credited, or productive of any lasting impression. One great disadvantage to writers who do not adhere to truth, or to a fixed principle, is, that they run into errors and contradictions, that by degrees take away all credit from what they produce.

discontent, and withdraw the affections and respect of the people from their rulers, as the way to prepare for a change in the government.

Unfortunately a number of circumstances have occurred which have facilitated attacks on his Royal Highness, who is surrounded with persons not sufficiently attentive to the honour and happiness of their royal master, or who mistake the mode by which they might really serve him; so that without any fault committed by himself, he has been led into such a labyrinth, as it will be difficult to extricate him from, if indeed it be possible.

His Royal Highness, on his coming to power as regent, gave an impressive proof of his devotion to the duties of his high office, when he made his private feelings and attachments subservient to the good of the nation: yet this has been so distorted, and so misrepresented, as to be considered a blemish in his character.

History is full of examples of princes who sacrificed public duty to private attachments to favourites who have made themselves agreeable or useful; but never before have we seen a prince condemned for preferring public duty to private attachments. We have frequently seen kings compelled to abandon their favourites, but we could not conceive, till we actually

saw it, that a prince should be censured for not gratifying his private feelings, at the expense of the nation, and of his public duty.

In a time of peace, ministers may be changed without any material inconveniency to a state; but at this time, when we are waging war for existence, a change of ministers must be a very ruinous step, unless it were to arise from a determination to change measures also.

It does not appear that the public wish for a change of measures. The public certainly do not wish to see those men at the head of affairs, who misconducted them so completely and so unfortunately for Europe, in 1806*. Yet they blame the prince for abandoning his early friends; which, being interpreted into common language, signifies, that the prince should have overturned the politics of the

* The mission of Lord Lauderdale to beg for peace at Paris, the known hostility of Mr. Fox and his friends to the plans of Mr. Pitt, (in which plans the continental powers had confidence), all combined to bring on the disastrous treaty of Tilsit, the invasion of Spain, and the last gigantic strides of Buonaparte to universal dominion. Had the Greys and Grenvilles come in again, very probably the Emperor Alexander, seeing himself abandoned by England, might have made terms with the arch enemy of all Europe.

country, and sacrificed objects that had cost five hundred millions, for the purpose of bringing in some early friends!! A very pretty wish indeed, and one that might have come well from an enemy of England; but, even then, that enemy could not have blamed the prince: he, on the contrary, would highly have praised him for his magnanimity. The wonder at the public feeling on this occasion is the greater, that the early friends were most of them obnoxious characters, and their line of politics generally disapproved. Yet, with all this, so it is, that the Prince Regent has been represented as having acted wrong, when it is in fact the action of his whole life that deserves the greatest praise.

The friends of the prince who are not abandoned, probably think that there is no importance attached to this misrepresentation, for they are at no pains to contradict it. They act either as if they were indifferent to his popularity, or as if they thought that his Royal Highness already enjoyed that advantage sufficiently.

The character and success of a prince generally depend more on the persons by whom he is immediately surrounded, than on himself; because they influence his conduct either by persuasion, or by opening the door to certain parties, and shutting it

against others; by letting some truths reach the royal ear, and keeping others at a distance.

The prince, in taking upon him the royal functions, in becoming virtually sovereign of England, did not cease to be Prince of Wales; and Carlton-house, without ceasing to be Carlton-house, became virtually St. James's palace. But unfortunately, (we say unfortunately), those who immediately surround his Royal Highness do not seem themselves to perceive the change, and they so manage it that it is difficult, if it is even possible, to approach the royal ear.

In every court of Europe it is practicable to lay before the sovereign any truth in which the rights of an individual, the good of the nation, or the good of the sovereign himself, are concerned. As for the emperors of Russia and Germany, they can be approached at any time, and they never refuse or neglect to give an answer, such as they think right. Even the grand Turk, from the midst of his women in his seraglio, receives and gives answers. Buonaparte, the despot of Europe, who affects to hold princes, and even sovereigns, in contempt, and who certainly treats them with no great respect, can be approached by ordinary men. But not so with his Royal Highness, whose gates are barred, more to his

own disadvantage and loss, than to that of any one who will ever wish to approach them*.

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* That the prince is inaccessible is asserted, and it must be proved:—In April 1812, just after he came into power, a person who has always wished well to the royal family, and frequently done services to the prince, wished to suggest to his Royal Highness a method by which he might greatly serve himself and the nation, and become more popular than any sovereign since the reign of Elizabeth. The plan suggested to his Royal Highness was to send a message to parliament, desiring a committee to be named to inquire into the high price of flour, when compared with the quarter of wheat. The memorial containing the suggestion shewed that flour, (and consequently bread), is above 40 *per cent*. dearer than it ought to be; that within these last fifty-five years this alteration has gradually taken place to the great injury of the public; and that above £16,000 a-week is thereby taken from the pockets of consumers within the bills of mortality, many of whom are indigent, and some in great necessity. The memorial further stated, that even should what it asserted prove untrue, great good would arise from the inquiry, as people would submit cheerfully to what could not be remedied.

It was observed, that, since Queen Elizabeth, none of the sovereigns of England have identified their interests with those of their people—That she did so; and, though a great despot, was adored, and even to this day her name is dear to England.

Every channel was tried to get this paper introduced to the prince. Colonel M'Mahon, his private secretary, declined; Lord Moira, as a private friend of the prince, was sequested to present it, but he perused attentively, and returned the paper without saying a word;

Whenever nature is violated, it costs dear to somebody; and it is in the nature of things every

and, last of all, it was given to the minister of the home department, who declined also!!

Had the prince received that paper, and acted on it, he might have laughed at all the intrigues of those men who wanted to nominate his household officers, or tie up his royal hands in any other shape; but the way was barred, and the prince was blameless.

A paper was in last March sent, which probably might have prevented the late misunderstanding with the Princess of Wales; it contained nothing that could give offence, and pointed out an easy, a fair, and an honourable road to adjustment, yet there was no means of getting it to his Royal Highness. Mr. Bicknell, his solicitor, refused first, and Lord Sidmouth afterwards; and all England sees with how little skill that business has been managed, so far as it has yet gone.

A memorial on a private business, a claim on the prince, as Prince of Wales, was sent in last November; but his solicitor would not present that.—Thus memorials of three different sorts: one for the public interest, one for the prince's domestic happiness, and the third containing a private claim, were all refused. Perhaps the Prince Regent might not have approved of the contents of the papers; but in fairness, he should have been allowed an opportunity of judging for himself: and it is more than probable, that had he received and attended to them, he would now at this moment have been loaded with the blessings of the public, for his regard to the happiness and comfort of the poor. The vexatious interference with the Princess of Wales might also have been prevented.

human being should have an opportunity of informing himself of what may be for his safety or advantage. This is a natural right, and no person or persons can guarrantee the prince against the consequences of not receiving such papers, and judging for himself.

The prince has never in his life been accused of an ill-natured action, he is known to be, on the contrary, possessed of all the finer feelings of humanity, which upon unforeseen occasions have been frequently called forth, and which have attended the call with that readiness which natural benevolence can alone produce.

The great expences, and the affair with the princess, are the only two things which throw a shade of doubt on the goodness of the prince's heart, or the ability of his head. As for his debts, those who, by way of preference, term themselves his early friends, led him into them when he was too young to know the consequences, and he was always treated by ministers in an ungenerous manner, that prevented him from extricating himself.

The prince has taste, but he has always been led into a wrong line of expense*, and has, in short,

* The grandeur and splendour of the Augustan age has been so

been so involved, that he could neither discontinue an old, nor begin on a new, plan; and out of this arose the unhappy marriage-alliance which has of late so much occupied the public mind.

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much celebrated, that the imagination forms to itself an idea of every thing around that emperor being magnificent in the extreme. Words do not always convey the ideas intended to be communicated; and when Louis XIV. affected to imitate Augustus, he ruined his country in building palaces, and establishing every thing on the most expensive scale. He did not know that the ambition of Augustus was not tinctured with the littleness of vanity. To give popularity to his government, by rendering his subjects happy, was more the study of Augustus, than to make an ostentatious display of his own wealth or consequence. While he possessed an absolute dominion over the lives and fortunes of his former fellow-citizens, when in the words of scripture, he sent out a decree, "That the world should be taxed," he affected no external appearance of superiority, but lived in every respect like a private gentleman of moderate fortune. The house he occupied was far from being one of the best in Rome, nor was it furnished in a manner that was either so magnificent or so expensive as those of many other senators. His table was remarkable for the same plainness and frugality; but to those who possessed a taste for the pleasures of conversation, it never failed to afford a most luxurious treat. His parties were usually small, but they were enlivened by wit, and adorned by genius and wisdom. All the young persons of the family were placed at an adjoining table, and had the advantage of listening to the various subjects of discussion, or of criticism, that engaged the attention of their seniors.

The dignity, as well as ability, with which the prince acted in the case of the regency-bill in 1789: his conduct when he was refused promotion in the

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The merits of works of genius were examined and discussed with that candour and attention which renders such discussions useful and agreeable. Though decorum was preserved, restraint was banished from the social board; and in the house of Augustus, the guests forgot that Rome had a master!

Our ideas of grandeur in the present times are greatly differen from those of Augustus and the great men of that age. The magnificent, but plain and simple emperor, lived more like a President Washington, or a Sir Joseph Banks, (sitting modestly surrounded by scientific friends), than one of those splendid modern sovereigns who are to be discerned in the midst of a blaze of gold, surrounded by sycophants, whose chief business is to amuse their master, and to prevent any thing "that smacks of noyance or unrest" from approaching his ear. Our ideas of grandeur are vitiated since Louis XIV. pretended to renew the Augustan era in France.

Voltaire, in his Philosophical Dictionary, under the article BEAUTY, says some things that will apply equally to grandeur and magnificence. Henry IV. of France, and Frederick of Prussia, had peculiar ideas of grandeur. A young boy being asked what he would do if he were a king? answered, "He would walk about all day with a crown on his head, eating gingerbread!"

But the most severe criticism on the gaudy pageantry which has now usurped exclusively the name of splendour, is upon the record of

army, his letter to the Princess on their separation, and all the public occasions on which he has had any difference of opinion with ministers, have shewn a mind incapable of little chicanery, of petty wrangling for trifles, or pretended misconceptions; and as the conduct towards the princess has been of a very different description, it is evidently not that of the prince himself, whose chief fault is, not to act, but to suffer others, who neither have so good a head, nor so good a heart, as himself, to act for him*.

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ages and the united voice of mankind. Antony, the colleague of Augustus, carried that gaudy pageantry perhaps to a greater length than any man who ever lived; yet the world has never spoken, nor historians written, concerning the splendour of Mark Antony; but the united voice of ages has given to the latter the more appropriate name of luxury. Not even his chariots dragged by lions, his silver oars and purple sails, could obtain for him and Egypt's queen the applause of mankind. The world appears to have thought with the poet,

" 'Tis use alone that sanctifies expense,
" And splendour borrows all her rays from sense."

* This portrait may not perhaps please the persons who serve or surround his Royal Highness. It is not, however, meant to offend them; but it is hoped, that should his Royal Highness see what is here written, he will do himself justice: and at the risk of offending, and without any hope of pleasing, the truth is spoken for that purpose. Were the prince to try to become popular, he would certainly

The man who stands first in the rank of polished gentlemen in the kingdom, and second in royal rank, would stand, as he ought, high in the esteem and love of his father's people.

The prince will observe that though it is a British maxim "that the king can do no wrong," yet that there is nothing to prevent him from doing good. Good actions are attended with great satisfaction, but no responsibility.

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succeed. The unhappy spell that keeps him under would be broken, his nervous system, which depends so much on the mind, would be restored to vigour, he would be a great prince, and a happy man.

THE PRINCESS OF WALES

THE British nation is always ready to do justice to those who appear to be oppressed; and indeed there are many circumstances that particularly entitle her Royal Highness to protection.

Though the age of chivalry may be gone past, yet the time is not past when a female, who is supposed to be injured, will find protectors amongst a generous, open-hearted, and a brave people.

Were any unprotected and insulated female to be attacked either in the public papers or in the public streets, she would not want defenders, and she would find the innate generosity and justice of Englishmen supply the place of ancient chivalry.

If a female, unprotected and unknown, would find in every stranger, and in every passenger, a friend, what is it to be supposed will be the case, where that female is unprotected, but not unknown?—A princess of the House of Brunswick, so deservedly dear to England, and so nearly allied to the British throne—A princess who was invited over to this country—The grand-daughter of Frederic, Prince of Wales—The wedded consort of the Prince of Wales

—And the mother of the Princess Charlotte of Wales! The mother of her who will probably be queen of England in her own right!

If any thing were necessary to add to the interest inspired by a princess in this situation, it would be the fate of her father, the chief of the royal line of Brunswick, whose miserable close of a life of virtue and glory was so regretted and so recent, at the time when the princess underwent a secret, a severe, and a mysterious investigation; an investigation which carried with its commencement a presumption of guilt, but with its completion did not establish the character of innocence.

It is not to a candid, generous, and thinking people that insinuations, sophistry, or half-hatched proofs, will be deemed sufficient.

The hearts of our honest countrymen, and of our fair and virtuous countrywomen, are all interested in defence of the Princess of Wales, under such circumstances. Every wife, every mother, every good husband, and every affectionate father, must wish to see her justified.

Whoever has occasioned the unfortunate transactions that have taken place, two things appear certain.

First, that the princess really was traduced by

Lady Douglas, in a way that gave room for suspicion, and the inquiry that took place was a natural consequence: this was one of those misfortunes that come on innocent persons unexpectedly. The malignity of Lady Douglas could not have been foreseen; for she seems to be one of those moral monsters who, for the honour of human nature, appear but very seldom. The second thing that seems certain is, that whatever is harsh or unaccommodating on the part of the prince, has not originated with himself. It has been already observed, in giving his portrait, that he is surrounded by persons who for some unexplained cause, (yes, and for some reason at which it is not even very easy to guess), have barred the usual ways of access to his royal person, and that the prince seems entirely to have changed his character. He was the politest, best bred gentleman in the kingdom: he never did any ill-natured action in his life; and his character has been manly and dignified on every occasion; there must therefore be some person or persons at the bottom of all this harshness to the princess.

The first unhappy misunderstanding was certainly brought about by officious, intermeddling, and malignant persons, who wished the prince had remained in a state of celibacy: and the princess, high-spirited,

of an open and free disposition, from being at first mortified and grieved, seems to have resolved to bear her affliction with fortitude, and make the best of misfortune.

There is an inconsistency in what her enemies alledged against the princess, which has not been noticed either by her friends or the public: all her indiscretions appear, according to every accusation, to be confined to a very short period; though sixteen years have elapsed since the unfortunate misunderstanding. They must be very ignorant of human nature who can give credit to a statement that leads to such a conclusion, for vice is, of all things, that which is got rid of with the greatest difficulty; and that any person should have been very prudent and circumspect except for a short period, during which the most unaccountable imprudences were voluntarily committed, is equally improbable; and what is again not less unlikely is, that if the princess had intrusted any person with secrets that endangered her life, she should afterwards bring on a quarrel, or rather seek a quarrel with the person to whom she had confided such dangerous secrets.

That three such incredible things should be, (all of which must be found true before the princess could

be found guilty), amounts to an absolute impossibility*; and when that is considered, the admirable conduct of the princess, when her servants were taken away to witness against her, her long persecution, and her dignified demeanour under it, might make the first prince in Europe in love with her mind, if he were not enamoured of her person†.

The innocence of the princess is as certain as that the frankness of her disposition, and her open nature, are the causes why her enemies were so long success-

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* The coarse, indecent, and at the same time improbable evidence of Lady Douglas, shews that she is a woman of a very depraved imagination; and there can be little doubt that her malignant nature must have been perceived by the princess, who if she had been culpable, must have become the slave of that fury of a woman. All parties allow that the princess is far from being an ignorant woman; she must therefore have been fully sensible of her danger.

† One of the great expedients of writers of romance, when they wish to interest the reader in behalf of a female character, is to represent the heroine as unprotected amongst strangers, and attacked by those who are actuated by envy or enmity: this expedient never fails, and indeed the effect is irresistible. A little poetry and fiction to give colouring to the scene, and the princess would be irresistible: even Genevieve of Brabant would sink before her; yet who ever read the short poem that was not in love with Genevieve of Brabant?

ful; but now what remains is merely to do her Royal Highness justice, and insure the public peace.

The way by which all may be adjusted is easy and plain: it is neither expected nor wished that his Royal Highness should do violence to his feelings, by passing his time with a person who, for reasons best known to himself, might be tedious or disagreeable; but it is both wished and expected, and it is reasonable to wish and expect, that the Princess of Wales, being unjustly calumniated, and found innocent, should enjoy that share of splendour and dignity to which she has an undoubted right.

The prince would make no sacrifice by such a concession, for what are the enjoyments of a gaudy day? What are the enjoyments of a day of etiquette and ceremony? Even if it were a sacrifice, sovereigns have many more important ones to make.

Monarchs have often sacrificed the greatest privilege of a man, (to choose the woman of his heart), to reasons of state; how much more may the prince sacrifice to the good of his subjects, a few hours, at best, of ceremonious pageantry. But it may be said to his Royal Highness, by men who want to profit by party divisions, that a reconciliation of this sort is yielding, that it is weakness, or that it is hypocrisy: such may be the suggestions of his enemies,

but even if it were so, hypocrisy and yielding, would be for the good of the state, and therefore, so far from being blameable, would deserve the greatest praise, and be most honourable.

To lay aside pride and personal feelings, is greatness and magnanimity in a prince, and therefore highly honourable; but even if it were not so, let us consider the immense advantage. It frees the prince from the fear and danger of those ill-natured attacks by which his life has been embittered for a considerable period.

To yield through fear of personal danger is pusillanimous: it is in all cases allied to cowardice. Hence the English, who are the bravest, though not the most discriminating people, in the world, are *too unbending, too inflexible*, and too apt to proceed, at all risks, in the way they have once begun; but in the present case, personal courage is out of the question; the whole is a political business, and it would border rather on childishness than approach courage and magnanimity, to risk troubling the peace of the nation, and the happiness and comfort of his family, for a mere piece of state ceremony.

His enemies, or pretended friends, will no doubt get it represented in an insidious manner, that the princess ought to yield, and that it is a fair contest

between husband and wife; but it is no such thing. The princess cannot yield without acknowledging guilt; she is compelled to demand to be treated as innocent, or she must be considered guilty; the princess then acts from necessity; with her every thing is at stake. The prince has nothing to compel him, and his known generous and good disposition will tell him so, if he will only listen to that good sense and good disposition.

A prince is at all times approached by some persons who are interested in seeing him in difficulties, that they may be useful and necessary; but in reality the prince has never done any thing that cannot be explained: what has been good, has been his own, what has been erroneous has originated elsewhere; he has but to follow the dictates of his own heart, considering maturely what is best, and he will be a happier prince than he ever has been, while listening to those around him, as he has done hitherto too much.

The prince has much to lose, and nothing to gain by refusing those honours to the princess, to which, as innocent, she has a right; which, to withhold, is injustice: honours to him of no importance, and which to him cost no price; honours to her of the greatest value, to withhold which is negative dis-

grace, and disgrace that implies criminality of no ordinary degree. With all those circumstances there cannot be a moment's hesitation in judging what it would be best to do. Justice and policy go hand in hand, and even in point of personal feelings the prince will be a great gainer; his breast was never formed for harbouring any of the acrimonious passions. If persons in high situations were to consult their propensities on days of courtly ceremony, there would be a mighty alteration in those assemblages that surround kings and princes. The very essence of the courtier's art is to disguise his feelings, and make them subservient to his interests. And as the situation of things is, and the manners of society are, it cannot be otherwise; nor are sovereigns exempt from the tribute paid to the established order. This sort of duplicity is neither wrong nor contemptible; it is a contrivance greatly to be admired; it gives scope to the amiable passions, and binds with strong, but silken bonds, all those that disturb the peace of society: and if, in England, the ceremonies of a court are not so considered, it will only shew, that the nature of the business is not fully comprehended; like the honest countryman who leaped on the stage, to save Des-

demona; or Don Quixote at the puppet show, who mistook appearances for realities.

It is one of the unavoidable consequences of persons of different interests and opposite feelings being brought together in a place where those feelings must be disguised, that their simulation and false appearances should be employed, not as a means of deceiving, but merely to prevent an inconvenient or injurious operation, and in order to put certain feelings out of the question. This is quite the contrary of deceit, it being well and generally understood, that appearances are nothing more than appearances, and nothing less than indicating realities. Surely, therefore, when the peace and happiness of a kingdom may be preserved by this unmeaning sacrifice, it cannot admit of a moment's hesitation to pay so trifling a premium for so permanent and great an advantage.

It is necessary to consider how much the princess had at stake, when she demanded to be treated as innocent, in order to appreciate her character, and to shew that it was not from any desire to give trouble, to be captious, or being difficult to satisfy; but the nature of the case, which required her to demand explanation.

Fortunately for her Royal Highness, circumstan-

ces have taken place, that have done more than prove her innocence. They have shewn her in a point of view that commands admiration; and as her daughter will soon be of age, her Royal Highness will not long be deprived of that frequent communication, on which, it appears, the greatest happiness of her life depends.

This trying circumstance has served to exhibit the national character in a very amiable point of view: if we are not a nation of knights errant, we are at least a nation that is generous and just, and will support those who appear to be oppressed; for with one voice the people seemed to say, in the words of Mr. Sheridan, in the Duenna—

" Then Lady dread not here deceit,
" Nor fear to suffer wrong;
" For friends in all the ag'd you'll meet,
" And brothers in the young."

THE DUKE OF YORK.

THE character and conduct of his Royal Highness have been more canvassed than those of any man in the kingdom. He has been assayed in a fiery furnace at all different degrees of heat, and, much to his honour and credit, he stands higher now than he did at any former period.

It is now above twenty years since his Royal Highness was sent to head a handful of British troops in Flanders, which joined the great unwieldy and ill-commanded army of the Prince of Cobourg. So far as the English were concerned, every thing was conducted in the best way, and the British troops gained as much glory as could be gained where success is wanting; but it is known, from the history of nations, of individuals, and the annals of the world, that success is the grand criterion by which merit is estimated. Success in this case was as much out of the power of the Duke of York, as of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Sir William Erskine, or any of the brave and skilful generals in his army*.

* Not only was the Prince of Cobourg a general of no abilities,

In the first place, the duke never commanded one sixth of the number of the forces sent against the French, and even then, he was not the chief in command over that sixth, but actually had a general of very inferior talents over him: so that he was not at all responsible for the success.

The affair of Dunkirk seems to stand upon a different footing from what was done when the army acted all under Cobourg; but a few words will explain this. The Austrians laid a plan to make the English principals in a war where they had only come as auxiliaries, and they began by offering what is termed a British object as a bait; namely, Dunkirk; but this was transacted with the cabinet at home, and not with his Royal Highness, though he was to suffer for it: and the Austrians reasoned thus—"If the English succeed, they will make any effort to keep Dunkirk; if they fail, they will make great sacrifices to wipe off the stain."

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but, having commanded in the war against the Turks in 1788 and 1789, his character was so well known to the best of the Austrian officers, that they did not wish to serve under him, and he did not wish to have them in his army. Count Clairfait was an exception, but the count was one of the mildest, most unassuming, and forgiving men, as well as one of the best of generals.

It was thus the duke was made the instrument of a disgraceful intrigue, of the existence of which he was necessarily ignorant at the time, but of which he became the victim.

While the cabinet of Vienna laid this plan, the officers belonging to the staff of the Prince of Cobourg conceived an under plot, namely, to betray the duke, and to make the affair fail; and this they did to revenge themselves of the imprudent measure of allowing Valenciennes to surrender to the British, although the Austrians were principally the cause of its fall.

Thus did the craft of the cabinet of Vienna lay one plan, and the envy and jealousy of the Austrian officers another. His Royal Highness took the wisest steps to get possession of the place, without much loss, but he was betrayed. Information was privately conveyed to the enemy, and loss and disgrace were the natural and inevitable consequences*.

* The particulars of the affair are well known; and those who witnessed the joy of the Austrians, when the British army was repulsed, cannot doubt of the truth of this. They appeared like savage enemies, not like allies; they smiled with a bitter, envious, and cruel joy, when they saw our fine fellows flying towards Furnes

In all that passed after, as well as before, the duke and his brave army did all that could be done; which explains the failure of the capture of Dunkirk; and no man can deny the truth of the explanation.

When his Royal Highness went to the Helder, he was again unfortunate, without being in fault. The time and place were not chosen by him; and they were both badly chosen. The expedition should have landed farther south on the coast, and at an earlier season in the year. The only fault of the duke was to accept of the command, but there was no fault in not succeeding, particularly as the Russians did not behave well, and the weather for landing was unfavourable, two things for which he could not be answerable.

So much, then, for his Royal Highness as a general; and as for his conduct as a commander-in-chief, it has the praise of all those who are capable of judging of his merit. But merely to say this is not enough, we must speak to particulars.

The army in 1792 did not amount to twenty

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and Ostend. I saw, (says the Editor of these portraits), that savage joy; and I ran the risk of my life for testifying, in very unequivocal terms, my anger; which indeed I was unable to disguise.

thousand effective men. Most of the officers had seen no service; boys were raised to high rank, and the duke had two great difficulties to encounter.

Parliamentary interest, which is exerted with the ministers in a body, as well as with the minister at war and the secretary at war individually, was a most terrible obstacle to every improvement, such as a military chief who understood the business would wish to adopt.

Again, there was another difficulty that arose from the almost idolatrous attachment in England to what has been long established. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the duke augmented the army, improved its spirit, and carried into effect regulations equally advantageous to the soldiers and to the country, and honourable to himself. As on this subject there are not two opinions, we need say no more; but it is fair to add, that in many cases the ameliorations have arisen with his Royal Highness personally, and in all cases he has been eager to adopt whatever was proposed for the good of the service, when once convinced that it would be for its benefit.

It is wonderful, that in managing so extensive a department, where there are so many interests, so many pretensions, and, above all, where the freedom

of the country leaves the press open to complaint, there should only be a few solitary instances of such a nature; and that even in those, the duke was found to be correct in his conduct, and far more moderate than those who complained of him*.

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* Public report had long made the multitude believe that commissions and promotion could only be obtained by Mrs. Clarke; yet only one or two instances were attempted to be proved, and even by the statements given, those favours cost immense trouble and manœuvre on the part of that lady. As for Mr. Hogan's pamphlet and accusation, it ended in his flying the country, to avoid punishment; but the story is so curious, that it deserves a little notice.

Hogan had been a meritorious officer, but became impatient, and instead of decorous application, which the good of the service absolutely requires, was, according to his own account, guilty of cowardly insolence to the commander-in-chief, who was only to blame for not putting him under an arrest, and having him tried by a court martial. Hogan then knowing he had sinned beyond a pardon, wrote a pamphlet, in which he pretended a bribe of £400 had been sent to him, to induce him to keep the secrets he was about to disclose. This £400 came very opportunely, when Hogan had plenty of witnesses ready, and he deposited the note without giving any one an opportunity to trace it, though it was found to be one of the same notes he had deposited to purchase a majority with, and had withdrawn a few days before.

The pamphlet, as it happened, contained no secrets, and was a very silly pamphlet; and the mysterious lady and the barouche

It only remains to view that affair so much canvassed with Mrs. Clarke, respecting which the parliament and the public have returned in a great measure from their error; but they would have returned from it altogether, if they had known the truth of the matter.

The duke did not know the real character of Mrs. Clarke when the connection was formed: he thought her a widow in distress. That she was clever and accomplished was evident, and she in other respects supported the character well; and had it not been for the interference of the husband, whose existence was only known to the duke after it was too late, no misunderstanding would ever probably have taken place; but no sooner did the truth come out, than the duke dropped the connection in disgust.

The public knows that the pension of £400 was

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have since been discovered to have brought the note, by connivance with Hogan himself, in order to give figure, shape, and eclat to the supposed transaction.

Amongst so many officers as are in the British army, most of whom are sudden and quick in quarrel, and easily offended, and many of whom know pamphleteers, it is a wonder that there are not more complaints.

refused, and therein the duke and his advisers were wrong, though they were not without an excuse; but as to the rest, all that appeared before the house of commons was the effect of a deep-laid conspiracy artfully carried on*.

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* Wardle and Mrs. Clarke pretended to be nearly strangers to each other, when they were travelling, eating, drinking, and purchasing furniture together. Disinterested patriotism was Wardle's plea, and Mrs. Clarke seemed to come forward a disinterested and involuntary witness; but the contrary was the case. Wardle was planning to be secretary at war, and Mrs. Clarke was bribed to act as she did; she might say, like the apothecary in the play, when he sold the poison, "My poverty, and not my will, consents:" in fact, she was more to be pitied than blamed. All this is positive; and there is every reason to believe the following to be correctly true.—Though there be no proof positive, yet there is sufficient ground for asserting that what follows is also true. We must observe, as a preliminary, that the only two leading points against the duke, of any importance, were—The testimony of Miss Taylor, and—The note of Huxley Sandon. As to Miss Taylor, if she ever dined with the duke, why were not some of the servants brought to prove it? but no circumstance proved that she ever saw the duke at any time; and her remembering one single sentence very particularly, and nothing else, plainly indicated management: that sort of management well known with witnesses in our law-courts, when the attorneys cannot trust to their intelligence.

With respect to Sandon, the note was written to make him have patience, but not by the duke, who had no occasion to write in that

Mrs. Clarke was not on oath, or she would probably not have said in a court of justice, what she rather admitted than declared in the house of commons; for let it be remembered, that the business was so very awkwardly managed, that the ill-directed activity of the duke's friends, real or pretended, did more harm than the plans of his enemies.

The business never should have come before a committee of the whole house, and if it had been an inquiry into the conduct of ministers, they would

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stile; had he wanted to pacify the mighty Sandon, an order to attend at the office would have answered the purpose. As Mrs. Clarke could not get that order, she wrote the note, and she will not swear in a court of justice that it came from the duke. Sandon was deceived, he thought it really the duke's writing, and made the discovery simply and honestly, without blame or bad intention. It could not be expected that Mrs. Clarke would accuse herself, though she certainly was not to blame for the unexpected appearance of the note. Colonel Gordon not denying its being the duke's writing, proves only that the colonel was a man of spirit, honour, and integrity, and would not hazard a positive opinion where he was not actually certain.

The fact of Miss Taylor being held up as an immaculate and injured woman, a school-mistress, getting her bread by her character and industry, when she was not a woman of character or virtue, is also proof of guilty manœuvres.

have taken care to have had one of their secret committees*; but it was on the king's son, and if there was not a plan to diminish his credit with his father, and remove him from office, there was at least a carelessness that was highly blameable, in men who certainly meant well, and who have a personal attachment to their royal master.

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* The Walcheren business, and every other that tended to expose ministers, have been brought before secret committees. This is in reality perfectly right, for publicity given to such errors, further than publicity is necessary, can be of no utility. It only serves to enable speaking politicians, whether it is in a coffee-house or a cobler's stall, from having food for spleen and discontent. But in the affair of Mrs. Clarke, the reason for secrecy was doubly strong, as the subject related to private as well as public, to family, as well as national affairs.

If any one had laid a plan to undermine morals and government at once, they could not have laid a better one; and Mr. Perceval, so sharp, so clear-sighted, and so active in other matters, was inexplicable in this: a man also so attentive to the interests of morality and religion. The petulent impertinence of Mrs. Clarke in the house of commons amused the public amazingly. It was entertaining to see great lawyers and ministers of state enter the lists with a woman, who under all the disadvantages of being alone, and compelled to answer interrogatories, without putting any questions herself, had apparently the advantage. These scenes urged the house to a premature conclusion, which, upon cool reflection, was very properly rescinded.

The affair, from its nature, was one that required privacy; besides, the subject was indecorous, and unfit for public discussion. The general tendency of the whole was to bring the royal family into contempt. It was not the commander-in-chief only, but the king's son, that was to be protected or to be sacrificed; and it is well known how long and how eagerly a plan has been laid to degrade, not only this royal family, but every ancient crowned head in Europe. To use a metaphorical expression, the plan is, and has long been, to send all the ancient crowns and scepters to the shop of the jeweller, that they may be modernized; and, instead of being the ancient regalia of the royal dynasties of former times, they may be suited to the taste of the satellites of Buonaparte, or some modern hero, nurtured in the hot-bed of jacobinism at Paris, but now spurning his origin, and trampling on his equals.

Much was alleged against the duke, but very little indeed was proved; and even of that, the greater part was under a heavy cloud, and scarcely ever believed. The heat and confusion which for the moment pervaded parliament and the nation, rendered justice tardy in retracting error; and the army rejoiced at the restoration of the commander-in-chief, under whom it has risen to an importance never known since

the days of the immortal conqueror of Blenheim and Malplaquet *.

The Duke of York is the only person whose portrait we have to give, whose character and conduct have undergone so severe an ordeal †. We have therefore been obliged to go into details, to support the character we have to give, which may be comprehended in a few words. As a general he has not been fortunate, but when success depended on himself and his army, he succeeded: as a commander-in-chief he has given satisfaction, and obtained the warmest praise of an army composed of more than two hundred thousand men, and five thousand officers; where, in spite of jarring interests and parliamentary influence, he has only made a few individuals dis-

* Those who know the difficulty of giving satisfaction in regard to commissions and promotions in so extensive a scale, must know that justice, and a proper attention to the rules adopted, are the only methods by which great dissatisfaction and complaint are to be avoided. And as to the state of the army at present, its numbers, its bravery, and its victories, are the best proofs that can be produced in its favour, though military men only can appreciate them to their full extent.

† In order to view this portrait in the true light, it may be necessary to examine in this collection, the articles Wardle, Clarke, and Royal Dukes.

contented; so even-handed has been his conduct, so impartial his protection, and so mild and moderate his exercise of power. As being a son of the sovereign, had the passions of supercilious malignity, or unmerited favouritism reigned in his breast, he might have given them a sway that an ordinary commander-in-chief could not with safety have ventured to give. Moderation in the exercise of power is one of the greatest of virtues, where an excessive exertion of it would not be attended with the usual danger; and this virtue must amongst others be admitted to belong to his Royal Highness.

They who are old enough, or have read enough of the history of the days that are passed, when they recollect the names of a Ligonier or a Sandwich, far from thinking that the present commander-in-chief has been partial, incorrect, or careless in his official situation, will consider him rather as a model for others to copy from.

THE ROYAL DUKES.

As the sons of the King of England are without the benefit or enjoyment of some of those rights that the meanest subject enjoys, rights that are in fact attached to human nature, (except in cases of natural infirmity), they must be weighed in another balance from any other rank of men.

It would be great injustice to judge of the princes by common rules, as they are deprived of common advantages, by the act which prevents them from marrying, which we must take into consideration in a moral, religious, and political point of view; taking also into consideration the origin and causes of the calumnies of which they are the object. Then will it be seen, that with more than ordinary temptation to live irregularly, they are more than ordinarily subject to criticism for their aberrations.

Before we enter upon the personal merits or defects in the characters and conduct of the Royal Dukes, we must, in justice to them, make a few observations.

Some philosophers have maintained, in opposition

to divines, that morality consists in obedience to written law, and to those rules which custom and habit have established in a country; thus making the duties of men to be derived from an origin entirely human.

Divines have on the other hand maintained, not only that we have laws derived from divine origin, and communicated from the deity, in the observance of which morality consists; but they observe, and we all feel, that there are laws which are written in the heart of man; a number of rules, which, when we transgress, that internal monitor and judge, conscience, never fails to condemn us.

There is, indeed, much to be said on both sides of this question. We have the testimony of holy writ for the fact that the human race was first propogated by incest, and that brothers and sisters, by the command of the Almighty, became husbands and wives! What has since become a heinous offence, was originally a duty; and not a few of the duties inculcated by the Mosaic law, are now punished with severity.

Even conscience, that internal monitor, that is supposed to be the voice of God or of nature, does not speak the same language, or judge by the same

rules in different countries, but law, habit, and education, evidently alter its decrees*.

The fact seems to be, that morality is a mixture of natural right and wrong with the institutions, interests, and habits of the people of a country. In some cases conscience is independent of every thing but the eternal dictates of the law of nature. Paricide, for example, could never be reconciled to the human breast; and there are many other crimes which all men, in all ages, and in every country, have held in abhorrence; yet there are various actions that are condemned in some countries, and not in others.

The crime of murder is held in general and very deserved detestation in every country; and the curse of Cain seems imprinted, by a supreme power,

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* The patriarch Abraham, one of the best of all the characters in scripture, sent off his concubine with her son, to perish in the desert, to please his jealous wife; greater injustice and cruelty could scarcely be. And the wisest and best of men, that is Solomon, and his father David, had wives and concubines without number; but in our days the English language would scarcely find words in which to describe the infamy of a man who now was guilty of such wickedness; and as to the law, it would send our modern Solomons to Botany Bay.

on him by whom it is committed: but a Mahometan will throw a wife into the sea, on suspicion of infidelity, and a Christian will shoot his friend with a pistol, for a mere trifle, without either the one or the other being upbraided by conscience, punished by the law, or spurned from society*.

Polygamy, in this country, is a crime, and the punishment is very severe: adultery is only a misdemeanor. The man who marries two wives, receives the second degree of punishment; the punishment next in severity to the murderer; whilst the adulterer is fined by his country, and received into society as an uncontaminated member; nay, by a future marriage, (the consequence of the crime), a plebeian may become a peeress, and a countess may rise to the rank of her grace the duchess†.

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* This is finely exposed in Lord Littleton's Dialogues of the Dead, where an American savage and a modern man of honour pass the river Styx in the same boat. Duels were unknown to the ancients, and previous to the general use of fire arms, assassination, (provided the provocation was sufficient), was not held to be a crime. Such changes certainly afford to the philosophers very powerful arguments, and render the question between them and the divines very intricate.

† That a commoner may obtain a coronet by adultery, and ducal rank be obtained by the same means, is a libel on our law; but

In all this there is a confusion and mixture of the moral law, as imprinted by nature on the mind of man, and that sort of morality for which philosophers contest, arising from human institutions; they are found sometimes to agree, sometimes to have no interference, and sometimes to go in direct contradiction to each other*.

One conclusion from all this is, that neither divines nor philosophers are altogether right, though it is evident, that if the creed of the philosopher could prevail, it would be a great injury to society, as it would give countenance to the pernicious and dangerous opinion that moral good and evil are nothing more than affairs of regulation, and sometimes only dependent on custom, or even on fashion†.

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that such things are, and not unfrequent, is a melancholy and a severe libel on our manners and morality.

* An inquiry into this, to be satisfactory, would require to be at considerable length; but it is sufficient for the present purpose to shew, that moral principle is strongly influenced by custom, and even by fashion.

† So far as the contempt of other men is the punishment of crime, it depends on fashion or custom. The chicaning attorney who robs the widow and the orphan, is received into the society of honest men; and the gallant and gay seducer of the wife or daughter of a friend,

That in moral principles there are many anomalies, tending to weaken the power of conscience, is certain, and thence it is fair to conclude that it is highly important not to promulgate any laws which are directly contrary, or even inconsistent with that pure morality which our Lord and Master taught, or which any virtuous and good man lays down as the rule of his conduct.

No law, unfortunately, could be more pernicious in this sort of effect than that which prevents the sons of a British king from contracting marriage without permission demanded and obtained; particularly when it is certain that such permission never is to be expected for any of those marriages of the heart, those love contracts, which nature allows, and in which it places the supreme felicity of mankind.

Such a regulation most undoubtedly was well intended, but certainly those by whom it was made, were very short-sighted, as to the consequences that might ultimately arise; and perhaps some of the heaviest calamities that hang hovering over this country,

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is received into the society of chaste and virtuous women, and they have the effrontery neither to blush for themselves, or for the company they keep.

and that are suspended over our guilty heads, arise from an unnatural law that deprives the sons of the sovereign of the rights of the meanest subject, and compels them to set examples that cannot fail to have a baneful influence on the morals and manners of society*

Wherever there is a natural propensity to do what is in itself right, or not morally wrong, there ought to be no other inability but such as nature occasions; man has no right to throw an impediment in the way, and when he does, it is seldom with impunity: and never was an error more distinctly pointed at by the hand of Providence, than this of which we now discuss the impropriety.

No prince, in modern times, has either had so numerous or so fine a family as the King of England; and probably no father was ever more happy than our excellent king, till his offspring arrived at years of maturity, when that fatal law interfered, to blight

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* This is singularly enough exemplified in the marriage of one of those princes, that occasioned this unfortunate law. The duke and princess of G. are two of the best characters in high life, in the kingdom; and their mother was a pattern of charity and benevolence.

the prospects of the young, and embitter the decline of the old.

The occasional aberrations of young men of rank and fortune, before they arrive at that period of life when they become fit for the marriage state, are of little importance: they are generally secret, and at all events have little more effect on society, (as operating in the way of example), than the play of school boys, or the tricks of madmen. But princes, without the prospect of ever entering into the marriage state, are driven to do, from necessity, and in a permanent manner, what men of rank only do in a casual way. They are forced to continue, in their riper years, those practices which youth only can excuse, except where the law of nature is inverted by the law of man.

The British princes are condemned to celibacy, that is, they cannot chuse a partner for life amongst that honourable rank of society in which they would naturally find one possessed of education and virtue. They cannot live like husbands, nor bring into the world children to inherit either the property or the respectability enjoyed by their father: and in every respect the religious and moral law, is infringed in their persons. But it may be said, this is the price they pay for being princes! Yes, indeed! And who

gave the government or the nation any right to impose that price? Are they princes with their own consent? Are they not born like other men; and therefore, by the constitution of this free country, have all the rights enjoyed by their fellow subjects? It is as much an infraction of the constitution, as if it were enacted that the child born to a peasant was to be a slave. The feudal system had nothing more tyrannical in its nature than this law; the only difference is, that it extends no farther than to the royal family, whereas the feudal despotism extended far and wide: but it is not the extent of the operation in which consists the justice or injustice, or the wound inflicted on religious or moral principle, but in the nature of the law itself.

But if the extensive operation of the feudal law was a great political evil, as it must be allowed that it was; and if the narrow limits of the operation of this law renders it, in a political light, less important, we have to view it in another way, when its political importance will be found to be great indeed.

No nation ever preserved liberty, or was prosperous long after its manners became corrupted; and nothing tends more to preserve purity of manners than respect for the marriage bed; without that, the

bonds of society are loosened, and the last age is always more degenerate than that which preceded it. The history of Rome affords ample proof of this; and no other people had so regular a rise, so high an ascent, or so perceptible a decline, as the Romans. Amongst that great people nothing important was effected by chance or accident; the moral and physical causes of their rise, their grandeur, and their fall, are all as evident as the connection between cause and effect could well be*. From a consideration of the whole, nothing is more certain than that when their manners were pure and virtuous, they rose†; when they grew vicious and licentious, they began rapidly to decline. The periods are as distinctly marked as in the age of a plant, or of an animal, and therefore the conclusion is not vague,

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* Montesquieu explains this very distinctly, and, with many excellent observations to illustrate his theory, proves, that the greatness and grandeur of a people are evanescent, unless supported by purity of manners. A corrupted people cannot long be great or powerful.

† One of the greatest errors into which the republican leaders fell at the beginning of the revolution in France, was in corrupting the manners of the people, and in destroying religion and morality. That conduct certainly did facilitate the destruction of the ancient regime; it was an excellent way to convert the nation into a nation of regicides, but it disqualified them from becoming republicans.

but certain, and it is shortly this; that *on purity of manners depends the prosperity of a state;* and on holding sacred the ties of marriage, depends, in a great measure, the purity of manners amongst a people*.

Another truth that is learned from the history of all civilized countries is, that the example of the high-erranks influences those below; and that, therefore, the greatest importance ought to be attached to giving good examples by the higher classes.

In a free country, manners are of more importance, in many cases, than laws, for they have an influence on the conduct of men where laws cannot interfere; and no vice is ever prevalent unless it can, by some concurrence of circumstances, be freed from that reproach, opprobrium, or contempt, which are more terrible than the minor punishments inflicted by the law.

It has been already observed, that adultery is not infamous, nor punished but with a fine, (always proportioned to the ability of the adulterer). A divorce from a husband, from whom to be divorced is an advantage, is the reward of the adultress,

* Mr. Burke examined documents, and found that in three months in 1793, as many divorces took place at Paris, as in five hundred years in the city of Rome, at the time of the republic.

and even a ducal coronet may be the consequence. The example of the higher ranks goes rapidly to the lower, and regeneration or ruin must be the consequence.

The short and immoral reign of Charles II. was followed by such a serious revolution, that regeneration of manners ensued, else the consequences might have been very severely felt: but this nation may not be always so happy in a concurrence of circumstances to avert danger.

The excellent and exemplary conduct of their present Majesties has hitherto greatly tended to counteract the bad example set by the princes, for which bad example the princes are not to be blamed. They have been compelled, by circumstances, to live as they have done. They are a proscribed set of men; proscribed before they were born, and placed without the pale of the law of privilege and natural right, with respect to the most material circumstance in life*.

* A prince thus situated must either begin by deceiving or debauching the woman with whom he means to cohabit; or he must cohabit with some one that has already been debauched or deceived. He is entirely deprived from chusing a companion from amongst persons of education, unless chance throws one in his way.

This brings contamination upon society by corrupting manners in their source, and thereby laying the foundation of ruin to the empire, at no very distant day; which is the more unfavourable, that the luxury of the times, and the wealth enjoyed by the higher classes, as in ancient Rome, lead naturally to a relaxation of manners, without the additional aid of the example of the first family of the nation.

If then the injustice of the law be confined to one family; if it be confined to a few, the contamination of example is extended to the many. The circle, indeed, on which it operates, has no other bounds than that of the country in which is its centre.

Let the British empire beware of that operation at this moment, when the bonds of religion and morality are loosened, in a manner altogether without example.

So much, then, for the religious, the moral, and the political view of this law, equally unfortunate and unjust; let us now take a view of those who have calumniated royalty, let us consider their motives and their means; here we shall find still, that the unfortunate law has operated in a baneful way against the peace and prosperity of the kingdom.

Long previous to the French revolution, there

existed all over Europe a secret conspiracy against kings and priests—against the throne and the altar*, which broke forth in open acts in the year 1789. To write or record the extravagancies that took place, would only be to repeat a tale already nine times told; and a tale that must still be fresh in the memory of all those who have attended to the unfortunate events which have occurred during the last twenty-three years.

It is sufficient for the present purpose to observe, that whatever was in view, or whatever was in the progress of execution, care was always taken, and every effort employed to degrade royalty, and to persuade the whole world that kings were the oppressors of mankind, and that monarchy was an establishment for the aggrandizement of a few, at the expense, and to the detriment of the many.

From the nature of things, the actions of kings and princes are subject to a publicity from which

* Without going into all the ideas of the Abbé Barruel, many of which may be considered as a species of reverie, nothing can be more certain, than that from about the middle of the last century, such a conspiracy did exist; though, to carry it to the times of the knights templars is absurd.

the actions of private men are exempt, from their multiplicity, and their obscurity. From the nature of man, which is imperfect, many actions, even of the best, are unfit for meeting the public eye, and still more of them are liable to be misrepresented or misinterpreted.

No great difficulty occurred in painting, in black characters, the actions of men subject to such general observation; and with the malignant disposition that had gone abroad, venial errors were converted into intentional and serious crimes; foibles were converted into vices of a deep dye, and even the innocent and unavoidable amusements of an idle hour were held out as proofs of ignorance and imbecility.

The many-headed multitude propagated with avidity, or listened with attention; and the exaggeration so common in such cases, assisted in colouring the picture.

The temporary, but complete triumph of the enemies of princes, gave additional success to calumnies propagated with such uninterrupted effort, and unfeeling ferocity; so that the lower classes, who in former times, looked up to princes with respect and awe, now viewed them with that untem-

pered anger and contempt which the ignorant are so apt to feel for fallen greatness.

The misfortunes of the royal family of France only served to sharpen the appetite for revenge, as the taste of blood augments the ferocity of beasts of prey; so that those royal establishments, under which mankind had for centuries enjoyed tranquillity and repose, were considered and represented as the most obnoxious to the happiness of mankind.

Though France was the only country in which the discontented multitude had an opportunity of satiating their savage revenge with royal blood, yet in every country, the same dispositions were manifested, more or less, and the same propensities encouraged. Fortunately for England, the virtuous and unspotted life of the sovereign, and the unblemished partner of his throne, screened this country from similar acts, and preserved it from similar misfortune.

Here again, however, the unfortunate and unjust law against the marriage of the princes, subjected them to criticism from enemies who carefully exaggerated their failings, and took care to conceal from public view the cause of those failings, so firmly rooted in those arrangements, that excluded the princes from rights without which no body of men,

could live in a manner either virtuous or correct.

Thus the throne of Britain, inaccessible in itself, was attacked in the persons of those most nearly allied to it; and the evil spirit that had gone abroad in other countries, found occupation in this, and had time to ripen into a strength that only seeks occasion and opportunity to break out, as in France, into open acts of violence. May the good genius of England avert the day! May the good sense, the wisdom and justice of the legislature repeal a law which has contributed to foster and encourage so dangerous a state of things!

By a sort of fatality for which it is difficult to account, and which it is impossible to vindicate, impunity in most cases, and reward in some, has attended those who exerted themselves in thus artfully undermining the throne; while those who have been attacked, either unable or unwilling to defend themselves, have, by their own conduct, given strength and consistency to the calumnies of their enemies.

Whether this may be from courage inherent in the princes; from a feeling of innocence, or from a contempt for their calumniators, it is difficult to say, but let that be as it may, great is their impru-

dence in so doing, for great is the danger. It is not, perhaps, an immediate danger, but it is not the less that the day is at some distance; and all those well-minded persons who contemplate the dangers of the system so artfully, and so incessantly pursued, should join, and unite in the defence of royalty, and in shielding from unfair reproach princes who by their elevated situation are exposed to observation, and who, by the hard law imposed upon them, are, as it were, condemned from their cradle to transgress.

Let any honest and good man lay his hand on his heart, and put himself in their situation: let the religious man remember the words of the apostle Paul, "that it is better to marry than to burn," and let him consider what he would do if he could not marry, and was condemned to burn.

Let it sink deep in the mind, that the laws of nature are never with impunity infringed, and that as the laws of nature are completely, and most unjustly infringed with regard to the royal marriage act, the princes are not to be blamed that they are not to be judged by the same rule with other men, who are not subjected to the same cruel, unfeeling, and unjust restrictions.

Whilst we are occupied in fighting for other nations, in seeking to augment colonies and commerce,

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to increase in riches and revenue, let us not forget the basis on which the permanent prosperity of states and empires can alone rest; private virtue and purity of manners: the virtues by which imperial Rome rose to become the mistress of the world, and which, when fled, left her a prey to the Goths and Vandals, who banished civilization from the western world, and involved the seat of learning, of arts, and of elegance, in the darkness of barbarism and ignorance, for more than ten centuries.

This is written by no sycophant! no supporter of arbitrary power! no advocate for incontinence! no enemy to the liberties of the people! but by one who wishes justice to be extended to princes, and good example to the people.

But it may perhaps be said, that though all this is well, yet that there is another side of the question: that though the evils are real and great, yet by obliterating that law, greater mischiefs would occur. On this subject I have not a great deal to say, but what I have to say, will, I trust, be quite enough for the purpose.

The expedient or invention of not permitting princes to marry with subjects, is but a recent one: before that was adopted, and even when it was adopted, people were ignorant, and acted on princi-

ples and from motives which they would now consider as the most ridiculous. This is similar to the laws made against the Roman Catholics, which, at the time, might be wise, and perhaps necessary, but which are not so now. The wars of York and Lancaster are just as incompatible with the present times, as the burnings of the Protestants at Smithfield; neither the policy, nor the manners of the age would admit of a repetition of such things.

Some laws are made for permanent, and some for temporary, or occasional purposes: the laws against Catholics were of the latter sort; they were to prevent certain evils which the then manner of thinking gave reason to apprehend; when that manner of thinking ceased, then the law might have been revoked, as we extinguish our lights when the day appears; or as the traveller lays aside his arms of defence when returned from his journey.

But in all cases the actions of men must be regulated by the situation of affairs, and if ever any law outlived the circumstances which occasioned it, the unfortunate and unjust one in question is that law. Passed in a moment of inconsiderate irritation, it has lasted till we find, that, notwithstanding the numerous family of the present monarch, he has only one grandchild in England; the Princess Charlotte

of Wales, who can ascend the throne, without any hopes, or at least any prospect of having another.

The child born to the King of Wirtemberg, one of Buonaparte's new sovereigns, is the only other heir, in a direct line, to the crown of England, by the law of England, as it now stands*; and though it is to be hoped that the young Princess Charlotte will, in due time, have a family; yet at this present moment, such are the circumstances of the country, and knowing the uncertainty of human existence, it cannot but be acknowledged that there is some cause for alarm; or, if there is no cause for alarm, there is at least sufficient cause for precaution, and none would be so good as revoking the unjust law, and allowing the princes to marry like other men of rank.

As to foreign alliances, which have been so much prized, the present state of the continent puts all such out of the question, for our most bitter enemy, Buonaparte, is the lord paramount. The sovereigns

* The children of the Duke of Sussex, by a lady of rank and family, to whom, it is said, his Royal Highness was *twice married*, are disabled, by the marriage act, from putting in a claim, in case of a failure in the two legal heirs. This opens a question that it might be inconvenient to discuss.

on the continent are the vassals of Buonaparte. It is a new modification of the feudal system, where the vassals of the chief, instead of the title of barons and counts, have the title of princes and kings; and it can be no object of ambition for a British prince to court an alliance with the daughter of any such vassal sovereigns.

In taking a full view of the matter, the danger in revoking the obnoxious law is over, and at an end. From the state of the royal family, in justice to the princes, and for the safety of succession to the throne, it ought then to be repealed.

One single consideration only remains, and that is, with respect to the time when this should be done; and with regard to that, the answer is, *as soon as possible.* It cannot be done too soon, for if it is not done soon, justice to the princes will come too late; neither will any of the advantages spoken of be procurable to the present race of men. There are several princes now, who perhaps might marry and have children, but they are advancing fast towards those years when marriage becomes less desirable; and if the present race of princes do not marry, that is, if the law is not revoked soon, it will be many years before there can be any occasion to attend to the business. It will be at least twenty-five years

before there will be any British prince marriageable that is not so at the present time, and it is likely that it will be more than twenty-five years; so that in this case, it may be almost said now or never; for in the present crisis, when things are changing with such rapidity and violence, a quarter of a century is as much to look forward to as an hundred years in former times.

Whether or not the princes themselves have any wish on this subject, the writer does not know; but he thinks, that if the law were repealed, they soon would avail themselves of it. It is not a little singular, that the human mind is so framed, that where there is no hope, there is seldom any desire; but amongst so many beautiful, accomplished, and excellent ladies as adorn the British court, it is probable, at least, that some of the princes would find one on whom to fix his affections, and whose affections he might gain, could he pay his addresses as other men; but as the matter is, the attentions of a prince would ruin the character of any lady.

It has been said in answer to this, that there is a clause in the law that empowers the king and parliament to set its operation aside in any instance they please. That is to say, that a licence may perhaps be obtained for a prince if he should make the

application. This, say certain persons, is sufficient, but the contrary is strongly insisted on.

The princes have been accused of being very expensive, but the truth is, they have not such large incomes as their uncles had, though times were much cheaper, and the prices of most articles have doubled since that period. It should also be known that they do give large sums in charities, and that they are laid heavily under contribution by the importunity of private petitioners, at the same time that they are ready to take the lead at all public subscriptions, when they acquit themselves always to general satisfaction. They all speak well, with elegance, and to the purpose, whether in parliament, or at public meetings. No men in the kingdom have been so harshly judged, or been so much misrepresented.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES ABBOTT,

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THERE never yet was a speaker of the house of commons who was not a man of candour, knowledge, and abilities. Impartiality, a great acquaintance with parliamentary business, and an unremitting attention to what passes in the house, are indispensable; but to these Mr. Abbott, the present speaker, adds an uncommon degree of political acuteness, and originality of views.

Few questions have been oftener or more keenly debated than that concerning the Roman Catholics. In the recent debate on that subject, Mr. Abbott had heard all that had been advanced on both sides, and deferred giving his opinion till nearly the last, when he arose, and made one of the best speeches that has been made on the subject; and what is surprising, all the views he took were original: there was no plagiarism, or repetition of other men's ideas clothed in a new dress. Mr. Abbott is not what the Americans call a lengthy speaker: few speeches have ever been made in parliament that were so much to the purpose, or led so directly

to a conclusion, as that above alluded to. When such a speech comes from such a man, it cannot fail to make an impression, and it is to be hoped that he will not let the formality of office prevent his judgment, and talents in debate, from being made useful to his country*.

WILLIAM ADAM, ESQ.

This gentleman, who is a sound lawyer, and a man of great industry, is one of a family which has produced a number of men of genius. His uncles were the famous architects†, and one of his sons

* The title of *Speaker* seems very absurd to foreigners. Voltaire said—The English call the president of their parliament the Speaker, apparently because he never speaks.

† The Messrs. Adam's introduced a new style of building in London, that is to say, they did what is more difficult than to build a palace, they formed the best plan for a town house, where no lights can come but from the street or the space behind. They contrived to unite elegance, economy of money, and economy of space, where there were buildings at each end, in a style far superior to what was before known; indeed the present elegant and new buildings in London and Edinburgh are entirely in their manner; and when called upon to shew their talents in works of greater magnitude, they displayed both taste and genius in no common degree.

has greatly distinguished himself as a lieutenant-colonel serving in Spain: he is the youngest colonel, in the service, we believe, yet he behaved with skill and bravery equal to age and experience.

To his professional duties as a barrister, Mr. Adam has constantly added an attention to his duties as a member of the legislature, till very lately; but though united firmly with a party, he never was violent, nor ready to go all lengths with those with whom he in general co-operated. He never was accused, or even suspected of making the good of his country subservient to his particular interests.

Mr. Adam has constantly been the friend, as well as the legal adviser of their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, and he is what is termed one of the soundest lawyers in the country. Had he not retired from public life to professional duty, much more might have been said, which would have tended to show how much the country has lost by being deprived of the services of one of those men whose opinions and advice gave stability and safety to the resolutions of the house of commons, many members of which are otherwise too apt to be led away by the arguments, or circumstances that present themselves at the moment.

ALEXANDER I.

EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS.

It is a great consolation, when we see the sovereigns of the continent all ready to become the dupes or the slaves of Buonaparte, to find one great character amongst those sovereigns, and to see that the Emperor of Russia is guided by the best views, and most pure principles.

The French expedition to Moscow has for ever terminated all plans for the subjugation, or even the invasion of that country; so that the Emperor Alexander had no personal interest in the liberation of Germany, which he has so generously undertaken.

The great mind of the emperor displayed itself in his proclamations*, and in his generously over-

* Before the first proclamation of his imperial Majesty arrived in this country, thinking that there was an opportunity of acting on the minds of the French people, that would never return, and ought

looking the conduct of the Poles and Prussians, who were still fighting against him, at the moment he undertook their liberation.

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to be improved to the utmost, the author of these portraits sent the following outline of an address to the French, to one of his Majesty's secretaries of state, and received an acknowledgment, approving the motive, but requesting him not to send any such in future. The spirit of this proposed address is so much in unison with that of the emperor, (which soon after arrived), particularly as to embracing the opportunity that then occurred, that it was hoped the British government would have addressed the French: it however sat silent, and Buonaparte profited by that: he persuaded his slaves that England meant to dismember France! England did not contradict him, and he raised a new army, to the astonishment of all, and the great misfortune of mankind.

Copy of an address written in December 1812, and proposed to be distributed on the French coast, and published in newspapers at home and abroad.

FRENCHMEN.—It is now more than twenty-three years that, led away by designing men, disguising the blackest schemes under false philosophy, you threw off the legitimate authority of a mild and a good king. As philosophers they pretended to teach you wisdom; as philanthropists they pretended to give you happiness, but they were like the hyena—they deluded only to devour, and, in three years, the happiest country in Europe became the most wretched and miserable: the most polished people became the most brutal, rude, and ferocious, and in place of the throne and the altar, which were

Those armies which were covered with glory in their own country, and had no more battles to fight on their own ground; which had even gained so

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overturned, scaffolds were erected in every department in that extensive country. Instead of an honourable hereditary nobility, you had a banditti to plunder and destroy; and instead of a holy priesthood, you had executioners, (des Bourreaux), dispersed all over France.

Religion was abolished, and monarchy fled: the impious atheists of the day encouraged every crime by precept and by example: they left life without dignity, and death without comfort!!

Frenchmen!—You yet remember the dismal period when Europe, astonished at your unexampled crimes, pitied your unexampled misfortunes, which she recals to your memory, not for reproach, but for remembrance.

A second period then arose, when even the semblance of liberty, and all those principles by which you had been misled, were entirely done away, and the most complete despotism established. The remembrance of the reign of terror, the reign of death, the reign of atheism, the recollection of past sufferings, and the mistrust that crime naturally inspires, made you suffer with patience one evil instead of a thousand. The gloomy, comfortless reign of despotism was preferable to the timorous and restless rule of anarchy; and Buonaparte became supreme master of France, and the worthy successor of Robespierre.

Far from attempting to heal your wounds, and make you happy by restoring peace and comfort, he used his talents and his power to flatter your vanity, and your love for military glory; and as the

signal a victory, that they had nothing to fear from any future attack, were in the most noble and magnanimous manner sent into the countries that had

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philosophers had seduced you with visionary schemes of perfect government; as they had persuaded you that your great and wise example would make the world become willing and submissive subjects of a great and happy nation, you were now made to believe that your skill and bravery would compel that world to submit. The world which had before been astonished, and shuddered at the errors into which you had been led, and the dangers likely to ensue, shuddered once more at the new extravagance, and the danger it was likely to produce.

Universal despotism threatened mankind; and under the most perfidious pretexts, your sons and brothers were dragged from you by thousands, and tens of thousands, to assist in enslaving the rest of mankind. It is unnecessary to enter into particulars, they are too recent and too remarkable to be forgotten; but Spain and Russia were both attacked on the same principle of universal empire, and of all the continental powers they alone made any effectual resistance. Constantly have you been told that Europe wanted to enslave you, when as constantly did your ruler aim at enslaving Europe: constantly has France carried on an offensive war, yet as constantly has she pretended only to defend herself.

Fortunately for yourselves, fortunately for the nations already subdued, and fortunately for those yet remaining free, your ambitious ruler made one great effort, to conquer Russia. Half a million of men, French, Italians, Germans, the natives of the flats of Holland,

fought against them, to free them from the tyrant's yoke, and to proclaim the emperor as the friend of freedom, not as the enemy or oppressor of mankind.

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and the mountains of Switzerland, with every necessary implement of war, invaded the great Russian empire, and were permitted to penetrate to its ancient capital. "After he sees his numerous troops every where beaten and destroyed, he now, with the small remains of them, seeks his personal safety in the rapidity of his flight." He flies with as much fear and depression as he advanced against it with pride and insolence: he flies, leaving his cannon behind him, throwing away his baggage, and sacrificing every thing that can retard the swiftness of his flight; thousands of the fugitives daily fall to the earth, and expire. In such a manner does the just vengeance of God punish those who insult his temples, while we, with joyful hearts, observe the great and praise-worthy actions of the Russian faithful subjects, we carry our most warm and lively gratitude to the first cause of all good, the Almighty God.

Frenchmen—Such has been the result! Europe grieves for the brave, but misled instruments of the monster! Look then at things as they are. Europe cannot conceal that on your readiness to listen to those who flattered your vanity and your passions, has been built this frightful fabric of sin and misery. Open your eyes to truth, and shut your ears to flattery; believe no longer that the attainment of universal empire is possible; or if it were possible, that it would make you happy. Believe no more that levellers, philosophers, or atheists, are either half so happy, or half such good men as the old, loyal, and brave inhabitants of France. Resume

The partizans of the French, of whom, to the disgrace of mankind, there are not a few, charge the emperor Alexander with having seconded the

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your ancient character; let the cannon be laid up in the arsenals, and the sword sleep in the scabbard: no nation wishes, nor is foolish enough to try to enslave or dismember ancient France; but all nations will gladly unite to restore France to her former happiness, and her ancient boundaries.

The British nation, which has had the will and the means of resistance, above other nations, and who holds in possession many of your ancient colonies, will be the first to show her generosity to restore, as she has shewn her ability to conquer and to retain.

Frenchmen—It remains with yourselves to be happy, to give peace and to enjoy it; but the nations of Europe cannot disguise that the present moment, when your forces, that, like spoilers and robbers, invaded Europe, are all annihilated at a blow; that present moment is precious, and cannot be lost: Europe speaks for your good, and for the good of all. It has pleased All-ruling Providence to give you a terrible lesson, and to grant to other nations a signal protection: and after the vanity of ambition, and the misery of war, have been exemplified in a most signal manner, let moderation and justice be the guide, and peace and happiness the object of all good Frenchmen, as they have long been of the nations around, who admired your courage, while they lamented that it was employed in so bad a cause; and who pitied your misery, while you imagined you were the admiration of all mankind.

The present opportunity is precious to the rest of Europe, but it is

usurpations of Buonaparte, at the treaty of Tilsit, but they either do not know, or they conceal the circumstances that influenced, or rather guided coercively the emperor on that occasion.

The Russians had been deceived by Austria at Austerlitz, when they came forward to assist that power in the liberation of Europe. It is singular enough that the Austrians advanced too far to meet the French at first, and would not wait till Russia had time to come to their assistance; whilst Prussia,

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no less precious to yourselves: your children were dragged from you under the appellation of conscripts, first to rob and murder others, and then to fall themselves; and while the army was entire, you had no means of resistance. The yoke was rivetted on your necks, but by a most unexpected, a most fortunate, and a most awful catastrophe, those armies are laid low, which alone had the power of compelling service. Emancipate yourselves now, when you have the means, and throw off the chains with which you have been bound in such cruel slavery; sufficient have been your errors, sufficient have been your sufferings, and as this is the first opportunity you have had of returning to peace and happiness, let it not escape: break your chains, and re-assume the ancient character enjoyed by the French nation.

Providence, as if in order to shew in the strongest light the vanity and ignorance of your ferocious tyrant, who pretended that he combined every operation, and foresaw every contingency, and every

that might have saved Europe, looked on an idle spectator: thus the impetuosity of one power, and the folly and apathy of the other, ruined the cause, and baffled the good intentions of the Russian emperor.

This was the first time that his disinterested magnanimity was abused by the imprudence of one power, and the selfishness of another.

The second occasion was exactly similar to the first, with regard to Russia, but the Emperor of

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consequence, permitted him to order an impious Te Deum to be sung for the conflagration of the ancient capital of Russia. Ignorant, arrogant, and impious man!!!—he did not see that in the flames of Moscow were melted the chains prepared for mankind; and that the ruin of all his schemes, the destruction of his miserable armies, and the irretrievable fall of his fortunes, would be the immediate consequences.

Such, Frenchmen, have been the talents and foresight of the man whom you have appeared to admire, and been compelled to obey; the evil genius at whose unhallowed shrine millions of Frenchmen have been offered up a sacrifice, and whose crimes have at last brought upon himself the most sudden, severe, and complete punishment and reverse of fortune ever recorded in the history of the human race; let your change of conduct be proportionally great, and you will secure happiness to yourselves, and entail it on your posterity.

(Signed) *A Friend to the Human Race.*

Germany and the King of Prussia changed parts in the dreadful drama.

Prussia was now threatened, and the Russian monarch, with the same disinterested magnanimity that he stepped forward to protect Austria, came to the assistance of Prussia; but the Prussians, too eager to rush to the combat, as the Austrians had been, began before the Russians could come up, when they were terribly defeated at Jena; and on that occasion Austria looked on with as much indifference as Prussia had before done. Prussia was completely crushed, and Russia, which had been only coming forward as an auxiliary, was obliged to sustain the combat single-handed and alone, for which it was not previously or fully prepared*: England refused the assistance it ought to have given. By means of French intrigue, even the imperial person was in the power of Buonaparte, when the treaty of Tilsit was signed†.

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* The administration of Grey and Grenville refused to assist Russia. It had been negociating for peace at Paris, and wished to abandon the system of mixing in continental politics.

† The meeting on the raft at Tilsit was a trick contrived to give the appearance of freedom and equality: which appearance it was necessary to assume, as it did not really exist; and for several

Thus a second time was the emperor deceived; and as he never could be brought to submit to the wicked intentions of Buonaparte, by adopting what he termed the continental system, that ambitious, restless, and obstinate man, began to prepare to invade Russia! but on this occasion the great emperor of the north was prepared, and came off victorious; and the only use he seems inclined to make of victory, is to assist in regaining the liberties of those who have been bearing arms against him; proclaiming that, "It would be an abuse of the goodness of Providence not to take the advantage of this crisis to reconstruct the equilibrium of Europe, and thereby insure public tranquillity and individual happiness." May the best of emperors prosper in his glorious attempt, and may the other powers of Europe second his noble enterprise.

Russia has had almost an uninterrupted succession of great monarchs, but this is the first who, to uncommon magnanimity, adds uncommon mildness and generosity; and if it should please Providence

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days the imperial person was, in reality, in the power of Buonaparte.

to grant him a long reign, he will probably make as great a change for the better on his immense empire, as Rome underwent in the time of Augustus, or Russia under Peter the Great*.

JOHN JULIUS ANGERSTEIN, ESQ.

THIS gentleman has long been distinguished for his generosity, his liberality, and encouragement of the fine arts; and while he lived in the style of a nobleman of the first rank, has set an example of public spirit that it would be much to their own honour, and much to the public advantage, if some of the over-wealthy nobility would imitate.

In public charity, and for every good purpose, Mr. Angerstein has long been one of the first, and most active: he has been the cause of drying the

* The Russian empire requires only a little attention to double its wealth and power. A publication, pointing out the mode by which that may probably be accomplished, is now in contemplation, and the materials are collected: it is an easy work, because the object is not to make arts, sciences, or even agriculture, flourish, highly, in so great an empire, but merely to bring them forward to something like the state they are in in other countries.

tears of many a widow and orphan, not only by contributing in a princely manner himself, but by his influence and example procuring the contribution of others.

It is much to be lamented that so few of those persons in the great world, who expend thousands in an evening merely for the enjoyment of a few hours, pay so little attention to the wants of the needy and the helpless. We have no objection to the chalked figures on a floor costing more than would maintain a poor invalid for seven years, though they are to be trampled under foot, and effaced in seven minutes*; but we think that the extravagance would be greatly graced by the patronage of merit, or assistance given to some real objects of charity†.

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* The Prince de Ligne, in his very entertaining account of the journey of the Empress of Russia to the Crimea in 1787 says, "At the mouth of the Boristhenes we found the King of Poland, who had been waiting some time. He had spent three months and three millions to see her imperial Majesty only for three hours!!

† When we hear that a new-born infant, which was found at the door of a noble marquis, was sent immediately to the parish, we cannot help coupling that cold, unfeeling, act of prudence, with the splendid establishment of the marquis, whose table, every day in

To rail against luxury like a cynic is absurd, and to wish that wealthy men should live meanly in order to employ their money in charity, betrays great ignorance of what is really for the advantage of mankind; but at the same time the contrary is detestable. There is a beauty in moral fitness as much as in the human form; due proportion between the parts is necessary in both: liberality without waste, and economy without meanness, obtain for a man his own approbation, and the esteem of others, while, with a little attention in the way of doing good, he may be of very great service to a great number.

The lovers of splendour are seldom charitable; but Mr. Angerstein is a remarkable exception, as he has for a number of years taken the lead in almost every charity, whether dictated purely by humanity, or connected with patriotism and the love of his country.

With respect to private charities, those acts that are totally unconnected with ostentation, it is not so

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the year, groaned beneath a regular banquet: that marquis was the Lucullus of the day, and was likewise one of the most wealthy noblemen in England. He no doubt was a wise and prudent man, but it is impossible to admire such wisdom and prudence; and the public very properly despised him for the act.

easy to say, for this very obvious reason, that they are private, and that the secrecy with which they are performed constitutes a great part of the merit of the action; but it is generally understood, and never has been either doubted or denied, that his private beneficence is proportioned to his public charity.

There is, indeed, one sort of beneficence which is neither public nor private, and consists in relieving those who make their wants known by a particular application; and as the man who stands so prominently forward, becomes, as it were, a mark to shoot at, Mr. Angerstein has been often tried, and it is believed, has not belied his public character.

Mr. Angerstein is considered as having a good solid judgment, and has been highly successful in business, which has enabled him to live in a princely style, and practice those liberalities which have been mentioned.

THE RIGHT HON. CHAS. ARBUTHNOT.

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE.

MR. ARBUTHNOT has been employed in a diplomatic capacity abroad, and has shewn much ability; but here we must observe, that since the French revolution took place, English diplomacy has been quite deranged.

At all times England laboured under several disadvantages. The formality of English manners, the assumed dignity of English ambassadors, and the distance they preserve at foreign courts, have been against them*; but, since the French revolution,

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* The treaty of alliance between France and America, (during the revolution in the latter country) was signed by Dr. Franklin at Versailles, ere Lord Stormont, the British ambassador, suspected that any negotiation was going on. His Lordship was nevertheless an able man, and abundantly attentive to his duty; but he was stiff, formal, and difficult of approach, and set great value on his dignity, as most of the British diplomatists have done for a number of years. When the Marquis of Cornwallis signed the treaty of Amiens,

to these we are to add the difficulties arising from the immense energy and activity, the bribery and corruption employed by the French, and above all, their unprincipled promises and partitions, by which they overcome almost every obstacle.

The very instructions to a French ambassador and to an English one are sufficient to decide the point of who is to succeed. The French ambassador's instructions are very summary, but very comprehensive, something like those to our captains in the navy, to sink, burn, and destroy.

The object being once fixed upon, nothing is to be considered but the success: the honour and dignity of the nation are never to be thought of, but every thing said that suits the purpose, either in the way of promise or assertion. The old diplomacy permitted deception within certain bounds, but the honour of the sovereign represented was never to be lost sight of by his representative. At present,

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French agents were negotiating to defeat the treaty in the same room, without the honest honourable marquis suspecting any thing of the matter. At the convention of Cintra, a Frenchman came into the room; he was very active in the negotiation, but it turned out that he was either a volunteer or self-created emissary; for the English negotiators could not even tell who he was!!

the only end is to carry the point in question, and the French consider the honour rests with those who succeed*; and they make no secret of their modern diplomatic code of honour.

Of the present diplomatists the number is but few, and those of the old school are unfit for transacting business with the new men. If to parry off villany and do nothing are the objects, such men as Lords Malmsbury or Whitworth are all that could be desired. The British ambassadors have acted with a circumspection, and a fear of taking any responsibility on themselves, that has been ridiculed; and is, in fact, rather ridiculous, for men decorated with the title of plenipotentiaries: they have appeared more anxious to escape blame than to do good ser-

* The revolutionists proceed upon this principle, that all the old governments deserve to be overturned, and that, therefore, there is nothing wrong that tends to that purpose; for with them there is also another principle, that, if the end be desirable, all means to effect it are honourable and right. This, it is to be observed, is the way in which they reason, though the real broad fact is, that provided they succeed, and satisfy their employers, they are nearly indifferent with regard to every other circumstance. There were some curious manœuvres practised at Paris when Lord Lauderdale went over.

vice. It would appear there is much wisdom in acting cautiously; for Sir Sydney Smith and Mr. Erskine, who stretched their powers to serve their country, were both disavowed, though most people think, there would have been equal wisdom and honour in ratifying what they did.

Mr. Arbuthnot is one of the most able ambassadors that have of late been sent from this country: he was on a difficult station, at the Ottoman Porte, where French gold, and French diamonds and intrigue have been very active for the last twenty years*. He is now an under secretary of state, a place which is never given to men who have not both talents for business, and assiduity, and the most tried integrity.

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* The French themselves admit, that from 1790 to 1794 they sent above seventy-two millions of livres in money and jewels.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BART. K. B.

FROM a very early age, Sir Joseph preferred science and the acquisition of useful knowledge, to those frivolous pursuits to which young men of fashion and fortune generally dedicate the first years of life. At the university, he gave a decided preference to the study of the sciences, though the dead languages are there held in most esteem. When arrived at riper years, he explored Iceland, and accompanied Captain Cook in his voyage round the world. He preferred going to the South Sea, to observe the transit of Venus over the disk of the sun, to visiting Italy to inspect the mysteries of the carnival, and import its vices to his native country.

Sir Joseph has been the constant encourager of merit, and has promoted discovery, not only by his own example, but at his own expense. The learned in this kingdom are in the constant habit of rallying round him; and perhaps it is not a little owing to the personal esteem entertained for the President of the Royal Society, and to his good example, that our English philosophers have fallen so little into the errors of the French academy, and those of Berlin

and other places on the continent; academies which certainly were filled with men of knowledge and science, and well qualified to inform and adorn the world; but men who unfortunately, and probably without being aware of the consequences, (which those of them who lived to see, had occasion bitterly to lament) thought, very erroneously, that the truths of religion, and their experiments of philosophy, were in contradiction to each other, from which circumstance they seldom omitted an opportunity of weakening the hold that religion had on the minds of men.

It is not the place here to discuss the question at length; yet in the portrait of so eminent and zealous an English philosopher, it would be improper to lose the opportunity of contrasting the conduct and character of the man of science, who knows the bounds of human knowledge, and the man who presumptuously (and even ignorantly) imagines, that the limits extend to the comprehension of the first cause, when, in reality, in the whole of causes, there is, between the first, and the immediate proximate efficient cause, always a break: there is always a last link, beyond which we cannot go; but still, beyond which there are, evidently, more links. To make a comparison which may not be misapplied, philosophy

is like a family pedigree; where, whether the line of ancestors be long or short, we find some man beyond whom we cannot go, though we are just as certain that he had ancestors, as any of his descendants.

In many branches of science men have made very great discoveries; discoveries honourable to themselves, and useful to others; but still the knowledge extends little further than the laws of action; that is to say, the scientific history of the phenomena to which they refer, finishes at a certain point, beyond which they find no means of going one single step. This would be no cause of mortification to a Bacon or a Newton, but by some unfortunate means, the modern philosophers on the continent permitted vanity and philosophy to form an intimate connexion, which led them to deny every thing for which they could not account, unless it happened to be so positively proved that they could not deny its reality. Thus, for example, they would not attempt to deny the existence of different colours and spots on a tulip, nor the equally inexplicable effect of ingrafting an apple-tree with the branch of a cherry tree, nor of magnetic attraction; nor that grass is green, and straw is yellow, though they could not account for these ordinary phenomena: but they had an admirable mode of rendering this

ignorance agreeable to their vanity; the invariable, though unaccountable phenomena were classed as the usual productions of nature; and of course, according to their opinion, did not require any investigation.

It might have been supposed that men, who were really possessed of knowledge and abilities, finding that, as in every case whatever, the chain of causes breaks off more or less abruptly, would never have conceived that a thing ought to be positively denied because it was not understood; particularly, as necessity obliges all men to believe many things that they do not, and certainly never can understand. It might also have been supposed that, without a blush, they would have confessed that human faculties do not seem intended to comprehend the first cause and origin of things, and then the connection between philosophy and infidelity would have been at an end. But the evil did not finish with the incredulity of the philosophers themselves, for all those who wished to be thought men of enlarged ideas, imitated the philosophers, in one of the leading features of their character, and the one the most easily assumed, that of pretended infidelity; which, instead of acquiring knowledge, they adopted that as a sign of it with facility, in proportion to their ignorance.

But it is not merely in presiding at the meetings, or in directing the transactions of the Royal Society, that Sir Joseph Banks has rendered himself so eminently the benefactor of his countrymen. Every Sunday evening during the sessions of parliament and the ordinary meetings of the Royal Society, his house is generally thrown open to scientific friends; strangers of fair character, and all those who combine virtue with enlightened intelligence: his library also, and his collections, are alike open to the use of all those whose studies and manners render them deserving of such a favour.

Almost all the voyages of discovery, and the travels which, within the last five-and-twenty years have emanated from England, have been more or less promoted by Sir Joseph Banks. To him the African Institution owes its origin, in a great degree; and Ledyard, Lucas, Houghton, and the unfortunate Mr. Parke, were by him directly patronized, and enabled to go forth in their perilous but useful journies. To him is owing the introduction of the bread-fruit tree into the West India Isles, the advancement of the colony in New South Wales to its present prosperity, the investigation of the natural history of New Holland, (a country much larger than Europe), and the continuance of re-

searches there; and by his liberal exertions, even amidst the wars which now desolate the earth, the general commerce and correspondence among men of learning in different countries is continued.

Many useful institutions for advancing the arts at home, have been likewise promoted by Sir Joseph; and his attention to the improvement of our sheep, and other useful animals; to the drainage of the fens in Lincolnshire, and to the general amelioration of husbandry, in all its branches, have justly entitled him to rank amongst the best benefactors of his native country.

In short, if rejecting the allurements of dissipation, to explore scenes unknown; if to support the dignity of the first literary society in the world, and, by firmness and candour to conciliate the regard of its members; if to dispense a princely fortune in the enlargement of science, the encouragement of genius, and the alleviation of distress, be circumstances which entitle any one to more than an ordinary share of respect, few will dispute the claim of Sir Joseph Banks to the most unqualified approbation. His manners are polite and attentive; and his conversation is instructive: he is also frank in communicating information; unaffected, and not without vivacity. To close this portrait, which so imperfectly renders

justice to his various merits, Sir Joseph Banks is entitled to every praise that science, liberality, and benevolence can bestow on their most distinguished favourites.

ALEXANDER BARING, ESQ. M. P.

Mr. Baring is one of the first commercial characters in the kingdom, whether considered as a merchant carrying on a most extensive commerce, or as a man of great commercial knowledge. His education was liberal in a high degree, and to regular study, so far as it gives commercial knowledge, he adds as much experience as a man at his early period of life can well be possessed of.

It is wonderful how much business is done in London, and how great the aggregate amount of commercial knowledge, compared with the little possessed by most of the individual merchants, particularly since all the details, and actual transactions, are left to men called brokers.

About forty years ago, the division of labour had not been extended to the London merchants, who generally looked after the whole of their business

themselves, but now it is very different, and most part of the great merchants neither look after their business, nor study to understand it*.

Mr. Baring is an honourable exception, for he is one of the few who understand what they are about; and, as a member of parliament, his commercial knowledge has often been of service to his country.

The fashion of the day in England is to follow theory in commercial matters; but our ancestors, who were guided by practical experience, took a much safer road; and so has Mr. Baring and his brother, therein copying their father, who was one of the first mercantile men Europe has produced.

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* It is generally supposed that the superior quality of English goods forces a market in other countries; but it is not so: the long credits the English merchants give, are the chief cause of the extention of English commerce. About 150 years ago Holland had the superiority that England has now, and for a similar reason.

MR. JOEL BARLOW.

THOUGH Mr. Barlow is now removed from the political scene, yet, as his works have not gone with him, and his portrait was written before his death, we shall give it; softening down, however, a few of the asperities, as he can no longer answer for himself.

Mr. Barlow, who was a sort of methodist preacher at the time of the American revolution, got himself into some notice by writing a long, tedious poem, intituled the Vision of Columbus, in which there are some beauties, and a great many defects; but in which he lavishly flatters the new world, at the expense of the old. This flattery to the American character could not fail to procure him friends in America; accordingly, Mr. Barlow came over to Europe as an agent for the sale of lands on the right bank of the Ohio, to the extent of three millions of acres, for which his principals had never paid one shilling; and for the sale of which they had formed no plan, further than to give a promise of delivery *vis a vis l'argent comptant.* It was in Paris that

he arrived in 1788, unable to speak French, and ignorant of business*.

At last, having with the assistance of others sold part of the lands, and having staid long enough in France to learn something of the language, he united with his friend Thomas Paine in flattering and serving the jacobins, and in abusing England and the English constitution.

Taciturn and selfish, Barlow was at great pains to give an idea to others that he was a profound genius; and as in the kingdom of the blind, a one-eyed man is king, so, amongst the personages that started up at the beginning of the revolution, Mr. Barlow passed for a great man. His hatred of

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* The title to the lands was merely one of preference, in case the persons contracting should pay for half a million of acres at a time, at the rate of about eight-pence: with such a title an American agent thought he might sell half a million of acres at a time, at five shillings an acre, that is, get about £200,000 for £18,000, without any kind of security for the delivery!! The plan devised by another person was to sell the land in lots, leaving a mortgage on each lot, more than sufficient to pay the American states for the first purchase, Mr. Jefferson, the American ambassador, consenting to the sales. This plan set Mr. Barlow afloat, though his avarice, and that of his employers, stopped the sales when 150,000 acres were sold.

England, his speaking English, his infidelily, and contempt for religion, all tended to make him useful, and a favourite. He came over to England several times, as a member of the *propaganda*, and at last got a mission to Barbary, in the time of Robespierre, when it is said he signed an instrument in which he disclaimed Christianity.

On his return, he came again to this country, having collected some money in France, by waiting to seize upon occasions when the property of the emigrants was sold for a tenth of what it was worth. Returned to America, he intrigued, and made his court to the president, whose hatred to England, and attachment to France, were not less than his own; and by that means he obtained his nomination as ambassador to Buonaparte.

With all due detestation for the man on account of his total want of a principle of justice, and contempt for him as an enemy to all religion, justice compels us to say, that he appears to have stood up boldly and firmly for the interests of America, and that he was much better fitted for an ambassador than many persons who have been regularly bred to diplomacy. Mr. Barlow had a great degree of cunning ingenuity, such as was highly advantageous in France; and being unrestrained by principle, and

accompanied with a grave exterior, he was well calculated to acquire the confidence of those who ruled in France, and after that to be well received in America, as a person capable of rendering the Americans great service, by returning to France, and combining with the French for the destruction of England: a work for which he had considerable ability, and the most unbounded inclination.

The zeal of Mr. Barlow in this cause, induced him to follow Buonaparte to Moscow, but he was taken ill, and died on his way, after finding the French army had been obliged to return in the most disastrous state.

Barlow, in his early times, was the friend of Thomas Paine and Paul Jones, and was protected by the weak, but well-intentioned La Fayette, who patronized most of the Americans in France, and who at one time was their only patron. The author of Columbus was then humble and subservient, for he knew that "lowliness is young ambition's ladder;" and had he lived it is more than probable he might have been president of the United States.

EARL BATHURST.

A NOBLEMAN of great family connections, who has repeatedly filled offices of importance on very important occasions.

His lordship had the management of the Mint a few years ago, previous to the great disturbance that has taken place about the difficulty of procuring change for bank notes; and at the same time that his lordship was informed, by letter, of the difficulty that would arise, he was offered a means of preventing it, but no notice was taken*. The difficulty arrived, as had been predicted, but his lordship was removed, and is now secretary for the colonial and war department.

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* The information was not sent directly to Lord Bathurst, but by mistake to Mr. Perceval, who answered that it was not his department: the writer of the letter, not very well pleased, returned for answer, that though it was not his department, as one of his Majesty's ministers, perhaps he might take the trouble to forward a letter, it being from a volunteer, who, asking no reward, ought not to be troubled with writing it twice over. Mr. Perceval seemed to feel the reproach, and answered immediately that he had forwarded the letter.

As all goes well on in his department, Earl Bathurst is entitled to the credit of filling his post advantageously, for if matters went wrong, he would be obliged to bear the blame.

In whatever department his lordship may be placed, he will be found to possess business abilities, general knowledge, and a well cultivated mind, guided by good intention, and political views corresponding with the plan to preserve Britain independent of French interest, and free from French connection.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES BRAGGE BATHURST, M. P.

A BARRISTER by profession, but whose time has been more devoted to the house of commons than to the courts of justice.

When Mr. Addington, now Lord Sidmouth, was speaker of the house of commons, Mr. Bragge was chairman of the committee, a situation of considerable difficulty, and that requires great knowledge of the rules and forms of parliament.

In that situation Mr. Bragge gave general satisfaction, and when Mr. Addington became first lord

of the treasury, Mr. Bragge, who is his brother-in-law, was made secretary at war, a situation which he also filled to satisfaction.

Mr. Bathurst, (a name lately adopted), is a man of sound understanding, and free, entirely, from the violence of party; so that what he says in the house always carries with it considerable weight.

If Mr. Bathurst were not any way allied by family ties to Lord Sidmouth, yet it would be natural to expect to find them both voting on the same side of the question, as they are both moderate men, supporting such measures as are at the same time safe and honourable.

In the house of commons there are a few members who, without heading any party, do, by the steadiness of their conduct, and their moderation and wisdom, carry a great number of persons with them, whenever they declare themselves fairly on a subject; and of that number Mr. Bathurst is one. Every member of the house knows that he will not recommend a foolish, or a dangerous measure; every one knows also that he will not speak on a subject without having considered well what he has to say, and that he is in general well acquainted with the affairs that come for discussion and decision. It is therefore very well that men who have not time or inclination,

or perhaps knowledge enough of the subject, to depend on their own judgment, should let their conduct be guided by one who may be followed with safety.

JOHN BECKET, ESQ.

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE,

In a country governed either by party or by intrigue, there are frequent changes of ministers. The public seeing men go at once into important offices, for which they had made no preparations; and still more, observing that they change from one department to another frequently, conclude that there is either nothing to do, or no difficulty in doing it; and they are not a little surprised to find, that the business of each department goes on without interruption, and apparently without change.

It is very natural to be surprised at this, and it is almost impossible to avoid assigning a wrong cause, for the real one is not generally known *. The fact

* People of the middling classes, as well as the lower orders, have

is, that the under secretaries of state are always men of abilities, fidelity, and attention to business, and on them the conduct of the department depends; otherwise, as there is sometimes a sort of interregnum, as it were, that is, an interval of time between the resignation of one minister and the appointment of another, the official business would be suspended.—Even after a new nomination takes place, it would be impossible for any man, however able he might be, all at once to guide the affairs of the department.

The under secretaries of state are not in general liable to be changed with the ministers, and therefore it is from them that government may be said to derive a very important part of its identity, namely, continuity, and that uninterrupted progress which is necessary in order to transact affairs well.

As the removals which party, or court intrigue

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often been heard to observe, that, to be a cobler or any ordinary trade, requires an apprenticeship, but to be a minister of state requires no particular instruction. The conclusion is natural, though erroneous, that, to be a common handicraft business requires more art than to be a minister of state. This arises from not knowing that the details of the particular departments are conducted by the under secretaries of state.

occasion amongst ministers themselves, do not affect the under secretaries of state, so also, neither intrigue nor party can ever place an idle or ignorant man in that situation.

From this statement it follows, that the under secretaries of state, are, without exception, men of unimpeachable integrity, and tried business talents. The gentleman of whom we speak, to those indispensable requisites adds an uncommon degree of attention, and what is more honourable still, the control of aliens is in his department; and though those unfortunate men are subject to an arbitrary order to quit the country, (which is, with respect to them, equivalent to imprisonment in the bastile, without trial or inquiry, and without redress); yet Mr. Becket, so far from exerting that power to oppress, receives great praise from the aliens themselves, for his justice, and his attention to inquire into circumstances when it is necessary.

One of not the least important functions of the minister for the home department is, the procuring the extension of royal clemency, on proper occasions, to convicted criminals; for as the law punishes small transgressors, for a first offence, with transportation, or the hulks, and there are old offenders who receive a similar sentence,

and as there is no remedy with the judge or jury, the exercise of royal clemency may be said to be the only corrective for that injustice which is unavoidable when men are punished by a strict abstract rule of law, that has no regard to particular circumstances*.

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* A free constitution requires that punishment should be fixed by law, previous to the offence, and though judges may recommend to mercy, they must pronounce the sentence of the law. In other countries, and in former times in our own, judges could apply such punishment as to them seemed good, and kings themselves were the original judges. In such circumstances, whilst every man was liable to oppression, every case, where there was not enmity or favour, stood by itself, and the duty of a judge consisted in his proportioning the punishment to the crime; and if that was done, there could be seldom occasion for the exertion of royal clemency. Now that happily we are in the power of the law, this proportioning of the punishment to be applied to the crime committed, is no longer possible; and royal clemency is the only means by which it may, in some manner, be obtained; and it is become essential to the ends of justice that royal clemency should be extended, where the punishment happens to be too severe. It is not enough to conceive the extension of royal clemency merely as being an act of mercy, but it is very frequently an act only of justice.

The greatest perfection in the administration of justice consists in being regulated by written laws, and not being subject to the will or caprice of men; but still, like other human institutions, that is but

Both justice and mercy require some new regulations, and they cannot be attempted at a better moment than when Lord Sidmouth and Mr. Becket

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a mechanical sort of perfection, and requires adjustment. Though it is certain that there can be no true freedom where men are not judged according to written law, and independent of the will of judges, yet this, like every other human scheme, has its imperfections, and disadvantages in the execution.

About the middle of the last century forgery was made a capital offence, and in a nation, the prosperity of which depends so much on credit and good faith, it has been found necessary to enforce the law in this case very rigorously.

It has so happened, however, that either from an imperfect definition of what constitutes forgery, or a want of attention to the legal meaning of the word, a practice has till this time prevailed, of drawing bills of exchange, in fictitious names, but with real indorsers and acceptors, on whose credit, and on whose only, the bill became negotiable. This practice has been considered as a harmless mode of giving the necessary form to the instrument; the practice has not been considered dishonourable, nor has it injured the credit of those who negotiated acceptances of that description.

Let us suppose a person who had, like many other men in trade, accepted bills thus drawn, and procured them to be negotiated, should be tried, and found guilty of forgery!—As death is the punishment, the conclusion is terrible; here would be an honourable but unfortunate man in the same situation with those who are hardened in crime and guilt, and the law of the land affords no remedy, nor could either the judge or jury give relief. Here then is a possible

are in that department; for it seldom happens that so humane, unassuming, and well-intentioned a

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case where the royal prerogative of pardoning the convicted is not only to be exerted in mercy, but in justice; for the community has no right to deprive an innocent man of his life; it can, at best, be but a legal murder so to do: the blood of man ought not to be shed by man without just cause, and in this case there is no just cause; for though it may be forgery, yet it was committed in ignorance, and without a fraudulent or corrupt intention; and at the worst, bearing only the same analogy to the forgeries usually practised, that man-slaughter or chance-medley do to murder.

A stronger example of the necessity of extending royal mercy to those whom the law in its unbending, unaccommodating application condemns, could not occur, than that here supposed; but it is one that may easily occur, and there are other cases, not so extreme, that occur continually, such as young offenders, whose crime comes just within the statute, being subject to the same punishment with hardened offenders, whose crime is of a very deep dye. The application of royal clemency, then, being much more necessary in this free country, than where judges exert their discretion, it becomes a great object to have that clemency extended with a thorough knowledge of the merits of each case; but with the greatest attention and best intentions, this cannot be done by the secretaries of state, as matters now stand. Each individual culprit is anxious to obtain alleviation of his sentence; those who have friends to make representation and interest, often succeed, whilst others who have no one to take any steps in their favour, generally receive their fate; and

minister of state, has so able a coadjutor as his lordship enjoys in Mr. Becket.

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the sentence, whatever it is, takes place, unanointed and unannealed, without the extention of royal clemency.

If to extend mercy with a proper regard to the circumstances of the case, be an object of importance, how much more important must it be when justice requires the intervention of the royal prerogative, to mitigate the severity of the law? It is therefore with great humility suggested, that some establishment should be formed for the purpose of ascertaining the merits of each case, and reporting to the secretary of state, in order that what it is so essential to do, should be done well, and in no case left to accident, as it often has hitherto been, without the secretary of state having the means of preventing it, for he can but act in consequence of the information received, and in such cases there is no trusting to individuals for information, unless some very strict control could be established.

Those who may object to the length of this note, are requested to remember that the express purpose of the *notes* to these Portraits, is to treat of subjects connected with the portrait given, in a way that, it is trusted, may be useful. Neither flattery nor scandal are the object of these pages; and all will readily admit the importance of a subject so intimately connected, both with justice and humanity. Even if one should fail in such an attempt, no blame will attach on account of the intention.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

This gentleman, who is a brother of the Duke of Portland, has risen to his present elevated situation, as men of rank and family often do, though he has nevertheless done justice to his elevation, by the abilities he has displayed, and the attention he has bestowed, in a very arduous situation.

In the vicissitudes of things it is not one of the least remarkable to see Sicily, which was a great and renowned island, long before Britain was known, now indebted to Britain for its preservation from a foreign yoke. To see a small portion of our army commanding in Sicily, and threatening the shores of ancient Italy.

Lord William Bentinck is both governor and commander-in-chief, and he has to defeat all the manœuvres that malcontents amongst the natives, or emissaries from France can contrive, aided by a weak king, and a proud vindictive queen.

Surely some fatality attends the crowned heads of Europe! that restless, vindictive queen, is the sister of the unfortunate Maria Antoinette, queen of France, who was so basely slandered, and so cruelly murdered by the French.

That restless, vindictive queen, was repeatedly insulted by the French in her palace, and at last driven from her capital; when she owed her liberty, and perhaps her life, to the British fleet commanded by the brave Lord Nelson; yet would that restless and vindictive queen betray the English, and become the slave of France after seeing Murat, the brother of Buonaparte, on the throne of Naples. She risks to change the throne of Sicily for a dungeon, and to be sent to keep company with the king of Spain, and the ill-treated queen of Etruria.

The ability with which Lord William Bentinck governs is great, but the plan is bad. It is a mixture of Sicilian and English government, just sufficient to preserve the island from falling into the hands of the enemy, but inefficient to any good purpose. There, as in many other places, English blood, and English money will continue to flow, and run to waste, without effecting any one good purpose. England should boldly, at once, become master of Sicily.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

A NOBLEMAN, who, to the highest rank, and most splendid fortune, joins much moderation, and all the virtues of private life*.

When lord lieutenant of Ireland, he conducted himself in such a manner as to give satisfaction to that country, and to both parties in England, and that at a very difficult period, when the affairs of Ireland caused the downfal of the administration to which his grace owed his high situation.

Without taking, or attempting to take, any leading part in politics, the rank and fortune of the duke make him of importance; but for near a century no chief of the house of Russell has taken so little interest in the affairs of his country, though none ever

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* Nothing can be a stronger proof of the great influence of party on the mind, and the comparative weak force of reason, than that families, from father to son, embrace one line of policy, and approve or disapprove of certain measures in politics; though, in matters that are not connected with party, fathers and sons are as ready to differ as any other persons. Mr. Locke, in the Management of the Human Understanding, explains this well, and the house of Russell is a great and prominent example of the truth.

lived at a time when to lend an active hand was more necessary. This is not the less surprising that his grace was over in Paris during the short interval of peace, and was an eye witness, to rank, power, and influence, as well as wealth, being in the hands of persons who, ten years before, were unknown, or filled the lowest situations, whilst the descendants of the Montmorencys, the Richelieus, and other great families were in exile abroad, or in indigence at home; though the storm that operated this great change is not yet over, and though its force is directed against this country. Let this be called apathy, or indifference, or moderation, still it is dangerous at a crisis like that which we, (unfortunately for ourselves), see only resisted by the greatest sacrifices on the part of men who struggle for mere necessaries, while those who are able to make sacrifices make none they can avoid*.

* The late Duke of Bedford, the idol and support of the opposition, was heavily fined for avoiding the payment of a tax on servants. In England it is a curious circumstance relative to the revenue law, that a man who defrauds government of the smallest sum, by a false stamp, is hanged without mercy, while he who defrauds it of thousands, by false returns, is only fined. You may cheat the customs, or excise, or commissioners for income and assessed taxes, if you can; but if you meddle with the stamps, death will be your portion.

The Duke of Bedford has less excuse than almost any other nobleman, yet he seems never to have given the dangers of the country one serious consideration.

BERNADOTTE,

THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.

SWEDEN has for more than a century been under the influence of France; and its monarch, previous to the revolution, received from thence a regular pension of about £160,000 a-year. There was, consequently, at all times, a strong party in the interest of France. The unfortunate monarch who was assassinated in 1792, at a masquerade; actuated by honour and by gratitude, rather than by interest, adhered to the royal family of France, and fell a victim to the French party in Sweden, which had transferred its services from the king to the jacobin club. Ankerstrom, the assassin, was the instrument of that faction, and Sweden became the friend of the factions that ruled in France, so long as the Duc de Sudermania was regent.

When the young king came of age, he adopted the policy of his father, and became the enemy of

those who had usurped the government of France, and we know how he was dethroned by the French party, now become the subservient slaves of Buonaparte. The subservient uncle was made king, and Bernadotte, a revolutionary general, chosen crown prince by adoption.

It would be neither necessary nor useful to enter into the examination of the external ceremonies with which this change was effected, or the absurd and ridiculous reasons adduced for so doing, as it was simply a permanent revolution in the government, such as had prevailed in a temporary manner during the minority of the young king. The kingdom of Sweden then may be said to have undergone quietly a revolution such as cost France so much blood; and in place of the successors of Henry the Great, and of Gustavus Vasa, the thrones were filled by two of those new men who had raised themselves during the confusion of the revolution.

Bernadotte had distinguished himself as one of the ablest generals that the French revolution had produced, and what is still more to his praise, he surpassed them all in that generosity and honour that formerly distinguished French military men, and will always distinguish gentlemen.

When minister at war in Paris, and when governor

over the oppressed people of Hanover, Bernadotte distinguished himself by his mildness and moderation, whether compared with those who preceded, or succeeded him; but when he arrived in Sweden, he came to a situation very critical, and very different from any he had hitherto occupied.

Arrived amongst a brave people, he seems at once to have determined to consider himself as a native Swede, and to labour for the interest of the country. This was, indeed, the natural line for a man of abilities, who was bred in the French revolution, without falling into its errors. It was taking a firm, vigorous resolution, to depend upon a decided manly conduct, and not to endeavour to become a vacilating tool in the hands of Buonaparte.

In the history of the few years in which Bernadotte has been in Sweden, where he may be said to reign, he has shewn as much attachment, to the full, to Buonaparte, as was in any way compatible with the interests of the country that had adopted him; but when the two were at variance, he does not appear to have hesitated a moment; and it is to be hoped, that being now appertaining to one of the ancient regular dynasties of Europe, he will instil into those with whom he co-operates, some of that decision and energy that they have so much wanted during

the late conflicts, and for want of which they have suffered so much.

Bernadotte has exactly acted as might have been expected of one of the revolutionary French generals, when detached from the country and the persons to whom he owed his rise. Thrown up from the revolutionary volcano, and now beyond the reach of the lava which it vomits forth, he has liberty to cool at leisure, and to take the temperature of the surrounding atmosphere. He considers his interest, and finds it is united with that of the country he is destined to govern; and with that promptitude and ability for which those persons who have risen during the revolution are famous, he has detached himself from the interests of his once companion in arms Buonaparte, his once sovereign, and him to whom he owes his elevation to the rank of Crown Prince of Sweden.

It could scarcely escape the penetration of so able a man as Bernadotte, that the extravagant ambition of Buonaparte must bring danger on himself, and on all those who attach themselves to his fortunes; and as the Crown Prince of Sweden is himself a man of moderation, who wishes to be happy, and make the people he governs happy, he very naturally disapproves of the conduct of a man whose only aim

seems to be to rule over all mankind, without either estimating at what price he makes the attempt, or considering the improbability of succeeding in establishing an order of things so new, and so much at variance with the prejudices, the attachments, and the general propensities of mankind.

National spirit, and attachment to country are universally found to prevail: a disposition to be independent is inherent in every people; and as to individuals, they wish to be at liberty to indulge themselves in their own way; but Buonaparte seems to conceive it practicable to regulate every nation, and every individual, not by will or inclination, but by force.

It is well known, and indeed self-evident, that whoever governs a nation, an individual, or any number of individuals, on this principle, must expect that there will be a constant struggle. No happiness and no durability*.

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* The Romans were the only great conquering nation: but one of the most studied parts of their plan, was to make the people they subdued happy; to indulge their prejudices, and to wound their national pride as little as possible. They civilized those who required it, and the Germans, the Gauls, and Britons, owe their first progress towards civilization to the great-minded Romans, when they were their

Bernadotte, aiming at being happy himself, and seeing the people he rules contented, and that permanently, has very wisely taken the side of the powers who aim at a similar object; and his setting at defiance the ruler of France, is one of the strongest signs of the instability of that ruler's power.

Bernadotte was one of the best, mildest, and most of a gentleman of any of the revolutionary generals; at the same time he was not inferior to any of them in military skill and abilities.

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,

RULER OF FRANCE.

Posterity alone will be able to appreciate truly the character of this extraordinary man*; at present

masters. Even the wild and mad jacobins, amongst whom Buonaparte was bred, only expected to succeed in subduing mankind by making them happy.

* A work has lately got into private circulation without any name of the author or bookseller, intituled—The Perspective of the Human Mind; it appears to be a highly interesting work. It observes, and truly, that the great moral philosopher Locke, in his

every thing is seen in an exaggerated view, and through a false medium: neither are we proper

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Management of the Human Understanding, had omitted one of the greatest causes of error in the judgment, namely, the *recency, or importance of an event.* What is recent or near, is always exaggerated, not in fact only, but in its supposed importance and consequences. Such is the position of the writer, which he demonstrates and illustrates in a variety of ways, drawing a comparison between what he terms—The perspective of the mind,and—The perspective of the eye, and shewing in what they resemble each other, and in what they differ.—As applied to Buonaparte he says: "When we hear it said that the ruler of France is a much greater man than Alexander or Cæsar, we should make the same allowance that we do for the traveller, who coming in drenched in wet, says that he never saw so heavy a rain before, although he may have seen many much heavier. We cannot admit that the battles of Marengo or Austerlitz were more glorious to the conqueror than when Charles XII. beat five times his numbers. We see great victories gained by great armies over inferior ones, and we admit the importance of the result; but we cannot allow ourselves to admit that they are more astonishing than any victories that have ever been gained: neither can we admit that Buonaparte, (the wonder of the age), is the worst of usurpers, or the most cruel of conquerors. We set down those opinions also as being the effect of the perspective of the mind, which makes a near object appear greater in proportion to the distant object, than it is in reality."

judges of the importance and magnitude, or even of the nature of most of the events, which, by his ambition, his talents, and his restless activity, he has contributed to produce.

At this time, Buonaparte is termed by some the greatest statesman, as well as the greatest warrior, that ever appeared; by others he is represented as the most ferocious villain that ever existed; but future historians will find that he is neither the one nor the other; and that it is scarcely excusable, even in the present existing race, to fall into so gross an error as to consider him as being so gigantic a character as he is represented.

Buonaparte did not, like Cæsar or Alexander, by the main strength of his genius, commence that career by which he has distinguished himself: he did not create the circumstances to which he owes his greatness and reputation.

The French revolution had proceeded in a career of conquest that threatened the continent, and astonished the world, before Buonaparte was at all known. To the jacobins is due the credit of giving that energy that has occasioned so many political changes; and the chief circumstance to which Buonaparte owes his success, is his adhering to all

those plans, and means of obtaining success, by which, in the time of Robespierre, the French defeated the allies*.

Buonaparte found every thing ready created and prepared for his purpose; the numbers and confidence of armies so long accustomed to triumph; where every officer and every subaltern, owed his rank to his merit, and where every private soldier saw the way to preferment lying open before him,

* General Dumourier was the person who first taught the French raw levies that violent and new method of fighting by which regular armies were defeated; and Pichegru, Moreau, and twenty others of the French generals following on in the same plan, improved upon it. The great success obtained by a numerous flying artillery; by bringing in fresh troops nearly at the end of a battle; by fighting unremittingly, and fatiguing an enemy inferior in numbers; by changing, and bringing fresh troops day after day, without intermission, on a fatigued and inferior army, when such is practicable; and by quick, rapid movements, at all times, was well known before Buonaparte appeared on the scene; and, as a general, he only had the merit of putting the same plans in execution with veteran troops, that had before succeeded with raw levies. The enemies of France persisting most stubbornly in getting beat, by using no new means of counteracting those new plans, greatly facilitated his work. How does man conquer all the ferocious animals, but by adopting modes of fighting suited to circumstances, while lions and tigers fight as they did a thousand years ago?

insured him success, in combating armies accustomed to defeat, and unpractised in any of the new arts by which victory had been obtained. Never did any man find such materials for victory ready prepared.

The essence of the art of war consists in suiting the effort to the circumstances, and altering the mode of fighting when it is required by the nature of the enemy. The Romans conquered the world by proceeding on this plan: the revolutionary armies, in addition to their skill, energy, and desperate exertion, had adopted new modes of fighting; and the allies, with an obstinacy, that, on such an emergency, can only be termed stupidity, persevered in the military tactics of the last century, and their being defeated was an inevitable consequence of such a line of conduct.

The revolution had arrived at a period when it must of necessity terminate in military despotism, and when the government of one man must be substituted for that of the many. That Buonaparte did evince abilities and address is certain; but he did not attain that high situation by any wonderful effort; and his merit since has chiefly consisted in persevering in the plans of his predecessors. Bred amongst the revolutionists, he knew well that there

was no way of calling forth the energies of those he wished to assist him, but by largesses and benefits, and those he allowed them to take from the enemy*.

The French armies had done more wonderful things before the arrival of Buonaparte to power, than they have done since. The plan of universal conquest was laid in 1792, or at latest 1793; the manner of fighting, and also of bribing, and buying off the enemy, were practised by the jacobin armies; and in one word, Buonaparte, after crushing the jacobins, and climbing up by degrees, has only the merit of exerting all their energies, and concentrating in his own person, the whole of their power and means of subjugating surrounding nations: but so far has he been from experiencing unexpected success, or acting with superior abilities and wisdom, that he has failed in two material points,

* Besides, the new methods of fighting in the field, the method of stimulating men by promotion to rank, according to success, was practised before Buonaparte's time. The living at the expense of the enemy, and carrying off every thing valuable, to France, were all jacobin inventions, in which Buonaparte has carefully persevered.

entirely by his own want of moderation, and of judgment.

In the attack on Spain, he destroyed the best ally he ever had; and from being a country with great resources, all of which he could command, he converted it into an enemy, which, if he should ever be able to subdue, will be a conquest of no importance. To say nothing of the insidious and mean manner in which the royal family were trepanned; in which the armies were drawn out of the country, and the strong places seized upon*, the result was evident; a civil war must ensue, in which case South America would throw off the yoke, and the value of Spain be destroyed. This was a great error. The

* There was much cunning and bad faith in the manner in which Spain, the most obedient, if not the most faithful ally of France, was decoyed into the power of Buonaparte. It is recent and well remembered, and much resembles the mode by which Edward I. of England got possession of the strong holds in Scotland, in the time of the contests for the throne between Bruce and Baliol. He invited the princes and nobility to Norham-castle, a position very similar on the Scottish borders, to Bayonne; he got possession of most of the strong holds from the princes and nobility when they were in his power, under the pretext of enabling him to enforce the execution of the award he was about to make. A contest of seventy-three years succeeded, when Scotland at last emancipated herself.

second was the attack on Russia, and penetrating into the heart of that empire, at the commencement of winter, which was attempting the most difficult of all possible conquests, at the most disadvantageous and dangerous of all possible periods; and the result of such combined error was what might be expected—The most singular disaster that ever overwhelmed an army. Did Alexander or Cæsar ever commit such errors, or had they ever such advantages as heading armies like the French, against sovereigns who persisted in fighting in an antiquated style, by which defeat was absolutely certain for them, and victory for himself*?

Thus finding that Buonaparte achieved nothing wonderfully great by his own powers; that he has done ample justice to the situation in which he was placed, and that he fought fine armies to the best advantage, must be admitted without hesitation. That he has a great talent for military affairs, as well as for political intrigue, is not to be disputed†; but

* In addition to the disadvantage of adhering to the old mode of fighting, Austria and Prussia, the two principal powers capable of resisting the French arms, acted treacherously to each other, and to Russia. See the portrait of the Emperor Alexander, page 117.

† The great qualities in which Buonaparte seems to surpass all

we must remember he is at the head of a nation that stands above all others for military skill and

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those around him are, constant attention to his object, indefatigable industry, and allowing no secondary consideration to interfere with his resolves. To these he adds much penetration and cunning, so that he has in every contest had the advantage of all his competitors: and as a time must have come when some of the generals must have arrived at the head of affairs, Buonaparte was that general; owing, not to surpassing all the others in merit or reputation, but to his uniting in himself in a singular manner, those qualities necessary to success.

That those who consider Buonaparte as *unique*, and as surpassing all men in his abilities and singular modes of acting, may be convinced that there is nothing new under the sun, the following particulars relative to Nadir Shah, a usurping tyrant, on the south border of the Caspian sea, are given, on the authority of the late Jonas Hanway, who saw the tyrant in his camp, and whose authority is indisputable.

In order to reclaim a caravan seized by some officers belonging to Nadir Shah, who had built a new palace at Casbin, (a city famous for having been the residence of many kings of Persia, one of the chief cities of Parthia, and the burial place of Hephæstion, the favourite of Alexander the Great), Mr. Hanway went there, but the Shah having taken the field, he followed, and pitched his tent near the royal standard. He delivered his petition, and immediately obtained a decree—"That the particulars of his loss should be delivered to the Shah's general at Astrabad, who would return what could be reco-

experience, and famous, at all times, for political intrigue. In short, let us remember that no man was ever so ably served and assisted, and then we

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vered, and the rest should be repaid from the sequestered estates of the rebels."

Nadir was indefatigable; he was in his tent giving audience, from seven in the morning till ten at night, except retiring for very short intervals: the ministers, officers of state, and generals, had their tents pitched on the right and left, that they might be near.

The circuit of the Shah's tents was very large; the entrance consisted, on one side, of a line of uniform tents for guard-rooms, and on the other side for the affairs of chancery and public business. About two hundred yards beyond this avenue was the pavilion, in which the Shah sat to give audience. The front was always open, even in the worst of weather, but when extremely cold, pots of charcoal were placed in the middle: behind the pavilion were his private tents, to which were admitted only secret emissaries; near those were the tents for his ladies; and the whole was surrounded by a fence, round which a strict guard patrolled. The officers of state, and people of business stood in the open air, before the tent, in all weathers, forming a semicircle.

The Shah often inquired into the prices of provisions, and reduced them to the rates he thought proper. The two imperial standards, though they required twelve men to move them, were lengthened by his orders, and made heavier.

When he travelled he had about sixty women, and as many eunuchs, who generally rode near his person; and before, were his body

may form some judgment of his claim to the great reputation he enjoys. Without admitting that he is so wonderful a man, and so gigantic a genius, as many

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guards and running footmen, extending a mile or two. His standing forces amounted to 200,000, to support which he oppressed and ruined Persia.

He thought a soldier always fought better when he had something to lose, and therefore encouraged the wearing of costly furniture, particularly for the horse: he himself had four complete sets; one mounted with pearls, another with rubies, a third with emeralds, and a fourth with diamonds, most of which were of a great size. The Shah had established a manufactory at Ampt, for horse shoes, arms, and other works in iron.

Soon after Mr. Hanway left the camp, Nadir, having been overheard by a Georgian slave, giving orders to put to death all the Persians in his camp the following night, the slave discovered the secret to some of the Persian officers, who, finding there was neither time for delay, nor for hesitation, got admittance to his tent, determined to assassinate him, when the tyrant cried, "have mercy, and I will pardon you all;" to which an officer replied, "you never showed mercy, and shall receive none."

He attended to every part of military discipline, and restored the use of the battle-axe, which he wielded himself, with great dexterity. His memory was as remarkable as his perfect knowledge of the genius and temper of the Persians. His presence of mind was remarkable, and his resolutions almost as quick as his thoughts. In his youth he had been addicted to drinking, but he had strength of

would have him to be, he has certainly the most indefatigable industry, and a surprising talent for taking a quick view of circumstances, so as to turn

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mind to abstain from it when he became a chief. He used to feed liberally, but on a simple diet; yet he would march a whole day on the strength of a few parched peas, which it is common for the Persians to carry in their pockets. His dress was not remarkable; his mind seemed to be superior to external pomp, or luxurious softness; he was cruel, generous, or just, according to his interest, but always with reflection; he had numbers of spies, and was very severe against those who spoke against him; he treated persons of the highest and lowest rank without much distinction; he was very ingenious in discovering whether his sub-governors had kept back money, and very rigorous in punishing: this is the eastern mode of finance.

Courage and liberality establish the affections of soldiers: Nadir was a master of every art of this sort; and at his first appearance in life, gained the universal affection of the army, and when vested with the command, ingratiated himself still more by procuring them their pay regularly, and good clothing at a cheap price, with occasional donations.

No part of his character was more distinguished than that of general: he lived in the field in the several characters of a peasant, a captive, a robber, a soldier, a general, and a king: his intrepidity was wonderful; and success established his character as an able general. His quickness of observation where his forces were weakest, and his presence of mind in succouring them, gave him a won-

them to the best advantage. If Buonaparte is not the surprising hero that some represent him, neither

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derful superiority over his enemies. His resolution seemed to inspire his army with a determined resolution to conquer or die; nor did his officers ever behave ill with impunity. In action he generally tired many horses, being never long absent where his presence was wanting; and on such occasions he used to address his soldiers in familiar terms, that inspired affection and confidence. He found it necessary to keep his army in motion, to prevent conspiracies, and keep the people in the remote parts of his empire in awe. His activity was scarcely to be exceeded: he was a predestinarian, which made him the more bold, yet he never exposed himself to unnecessary danger. In war he preferred stratagem to force: his marches were always amazingly rapid, and his progress so irregular, and contrary to the ordinary rules of war, that he confounded his enemies. In the height of his grandeur he would, at any moment, on an emergency, out-march his baggage, and suffer any hardship incident to a common soldier: thus he often defeated the best schemes of his enemies, and attacked them where they were least able to defend themselves. In matters of the greatest moment, his resolutions were generally so quick, and surpassing ordinary apprehensions, that it seemed difficult to judge whether they were the effects of solid judgment, or of a blind temerity. Under the difficulties in which he was often involved, irresolution seemed to be what he dreaded most; nor did he dare to ask advice, lest he should weaken the superiority by which he governed.

Many circumstances of the politics of this extraordinary man

is he the most cruel and detestable of tyrants, as others would have us believe him to be.

In the first place he did not dethrone the good Louis, but he drove the jacobin directory from the throne which they had usurped, and he crushed that mutinous and restless spirit that had, in a few years, deluged France with blood, and that would soon have reduced it to a desert. All this was excellent; he did not, indeed, fight to restore the old order of things, and the ancient family to the throne, but he restored order: he took the poignard from the jacobin, and crushed his audacious head in the dust. He substituted a vigorous and despotic government for the wildest and most cruel tyranny that ever

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were unfathomable, says Mr. Hanway; to which we may add, that allowing for the difference of manners and people, the similarity between him and Buonaparte is remarkable: the same indefatigable industry, eternal attention to business, promptitude in resolution, and in action, and contempt of personal gratifications when ambition demanded a sacrifice. Nadir Shah flourished from about the year 1730 to 1750, and was succeeded by his nephew.

Considering that it was late in life before Nadir could even read; that he only acted from natural genius and experience, he seems to have been a more extraordinary man than even Buonaparte, and to have been a phenomenon much of the same species.

existed*. But let us, in justice to him, remember that France, degraded and sunk in wickedness and crime, as she was, would not submit to any but a rigorous government; one that would be obeyed without resistance, without either asking or answering questions. Those who saw the audacious and cruel jacobins, on the day that they dragged Louis XVI. and his family from their palace†, for the last time,

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* Buonaparte first distinguished himself by becoming the general of a faction in the national assembly, that wished to crush the jacobins, to which society he had himself belonged. He is said, in a most resolute manner to have commanded a cannonade, in which about 6000 Parisians fell, on the 5th October 1795; just six years to an hour, from the time that the Parisians dragged the royal family from their palace at Versailles, never to return! The poisoned chalice returned to their own lips in that short period.

† The unfortunate royal family were dragged from Versailles on the 5th of October 1789, and on the 10th of August 1792, from the Thuilleries: on this last occasion the spectacle was the most disgusting possible. Whilst the massacre of the guards and the servants of the palace was yet going on, and the royal family were in the gallery of the national assembly, a man with his arms bare, and drenched in blood, appeared at the head of a ragged multitude, at the bar of the assembly, and demanded, in the name of his ferocious blackguards, the dethronement of Louis XVI. The president, with great gravity and cowardice, put the motion to the vote, and it passed by acclamation!! Can a people like this ever be free? or

will never enough admire the man who dragged those cruel monsters from their cavern, and con-

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ought they to be so? Surely Buonaparte did a great service to mankind, in subduing the many-headed monster.

Buonaparte is a most remarkable example of that want of moderation which is often to be observed in men who rise from a low condition. Louis XIV. was a very proud and ambitious monarch: he aimed at ruling Europe; but he was moderate, mild, and merciful in comparison to Buonaparte; and when he ceased to be successful he gave over bonsting. At this instant Buonaparte has most deservedly felt a severe reverse, and is reduced far below the situation he occupied last year: most men in his situation would feel humiliated, because he brought the evil on himself; and he, certainly, if he had any moderation, would be contented with ruling over France. To sit on the throne of the Bourbons ought to be a sufficiently high destiny for a man born in a low situation, and who, previous to his cannonade on his friends, the jacobins, on the 5th October 1795, was glad in any shape to find means of subsistence. That he might not only occupy the throne of France, but have his elevation confirmed, and his possession guaranteed by other powers is more than probable; but his immeasurable ambition will, it is most likely, make him spurn at such a compromise, and put every thing to the hazard once more.

This is a lesson of some importance; for as the people suffer and pay for the extravagancies of their rulers, it is evidently better to submit to moderate men, than to men whose ambition knows no bounds: that is to say, legitimate hereditary authority is the best and safest for those who are to submit to it.

verted them into tame, fawning, and submissive hypocrites.

The French appear to be unfit for freedom; they have not enough of moderation and steadiness; besides, they never can be made to understand the difference between licentiousness and liberty; and if that was the case with the uncontaminated French in 1789, what must it have been in 1797, when the nation was degraded by every crime?

As to his conduct in regard to the interior of the country over which he rules, Buonaparte is not then to blame, but deserves great applause; and even as to his conduct to foreign powers, there is a good deal to be said in his favour.

That a man of his abilities and energy, who had risen so rapidly, should feel a proportionate degree of pride, is by no means astonishing, and as he knew that all the crowned heads in Europe affected to despise him, who had so often triumphed over them, it is by no means surprising that he should feel displeased, and disposed to retaliate. When he compared those monarchs with himself, undervaluing hereditary rank, and antiquity of family; and considering moral principle as of little importance, or rather as an incumbrance, he could not fail to think himself greatly their superior.

The character of Buonaparte has not been fairly dealt with, either by his enemies, or by those who admire him. If he is to be compared with other rulers, let him be compared with those who have ruled in tempestuous times. If we are to make comparisons, let us compare tragedy with tragedy, and comedy with comedy; but do not let us compare tragedy with farce, or a man racked on the wheel, with a man reposing on a bed of roses. If we are to draw parallels, let it at least be where there is some resemblance and analogy, and not where all things are completely different.

If we look at the history of former times; if we look at Peter the Great, massacreing the peasants with his own hand, because they would not change the garb worn by their fathers; if we look at our own history, to the times of Richard III. Henry IV. and Henry VII.*, we shall be able to appreciate the

* Let us look at the orders of council given to the Marquis of Hertford, when he commanded the army in Scotland, in the minority of Queen Mary, (the nearest relation of the royal family). Let us look at the conduct of Louis XIV.'s armies in Holland, in later times, and then we shall be able to make a fair comparison. No doubt those who have read history require nothing more than to be

conduct of a man who, having obtained power by the sword, is obliged to maintain it by the sword.

Serious occasions have always been attended, and always will be attended, with severe measures, and tragical events. The virtuous, but undecided and humane Louis XVI. would not shed a drop of blood; and by that means, he probably has occasioned others to shed more blood than any man, almost, that ever existed.

It is not at all astonishing, then, if we compare the present mode of acting with that practiced in latter times, that we consider it as rough, and devoid of all humanity. We are, indeed, in that, comparing

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reminded of the necessity of comparing men under similar circumstances, if they are to make comparisons*.

* To the unbecoming and dangerous conduct of railing at an enemy sufficiently formidable, and sufficiently incensed against us already, and one to whom abuse is peculiarly displeasing, we have most absurdly tolerated abuse from persons who have no sort of right whatever to be abusive. It may be laid down as an axiom in politics, that an individual, or assemblage of individuals, have no right to bring danger on his or their country, by any act that it may be either his or their interest or pleasure to perform: it matters not what the nature of the danger is, and whether the person from whom it comes is justifiable in his anger; it is sufficient that it is contrary to the interest of the country.

very serious business, with very silly play. European wars, for a century before the revolution, were merely amusements; there was nothing serious: the kings "played at soldiers" to amuse themselves, or appease the discontents of their subjects, who are generally most discontented when they have the least reason for discontent*.

In forming a judgment of any individual man, any particular thing, or particular transaction, the object is first of all to be considered in itself; and in the

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* The discontents, for example, in England, never were at a greater height than in the factious times of Wilkes, the then *idol* of the people; yet that was the time of peace and national prosperity which preceded the war with America; our expenditure was then about one-seventh of what it is now: the taxes were small, and trade greater than at any former period; we were giddy with prosperity, yet the demon discontent was never more worshipped and adored. It is this sort of conduct in the people that occasions wars, and not the will of kings, who being made governors, must take the means to govern.

Whoever saw the ragged regicides in their squalid dens, blaspheming their God, and murdering their neighbour, cannot but admit that a great change for the better has taken place, and that it is absurd to expect that the instrument of that change is to be either very soft, or very pliable: we cannot expect direct contrariety of character in mind, any more than direct contrary qualities in matter.

second place, to be compared with other men, things, or transactions, to which it has the greatest resemblance or analogy.

The revolution of France, which is the greatest event that has taken place, (in an equal space of time), since the world existed, or at least since the Roman empire fell, although in many respects different from all that have come before it, has, nevertheless, its analogies. All revolutions, more or less great, have ruined some, and raised others; and in all of them, vice has frequently triumphed over virtue: blood has been shed, and treasure wasted, but it has been the alteration in the ultimate situation of those connected with it, the change effected for the better or for the worse, that determines in what light it is to be looked upon by posterity. All wars cost blood and treasure, and so do revolutions, but still there are fortunate and unfortunate wars, as well as fortunate and unfortunate revolutions.

No one can tell, in the ultimate result, whether the late revolution, and the wars that followed it, will be advantageous or not for the human race. If we consult history, we must say that to determine that point is impossible.

In considering the invasion of Britain by Julius

Cæsar, and other Roman conquerors, the injustice is undeniable—the immediate evils with which the invasions were attended, great—and the horrors produced were terrible; but let us follow those unjust invaders for three hundred years, and we find that they not only enlightened and improved the island, but by bringing it under one governing power, prevented, perhaps, more blood-shed than they occasioned. At all events, the ultimate consequences were highly advantageous to Britain.

With respect, however, to the evils of the revolution, the present ruler of France cannot be called to account; he found the French nation in a state of frenzy, threatening the whole of civilized society with an overthrow, and its scaffolds streaming with blood; and whatever the horrors and dangers of that time were, we are at least greatly indebted to Buonaparte for doing them away.

In the present revolution there is a principle that increases animosity. When nations go to war for territory, they fight, but animosity does not take place. The present war is one of talents against hereditary nobility, and of favouritism against effective service; and when there is such a difference, there naturally arise those feelings of the mind that lead to mutual accusations. There is something of the

ferocity of civil wars, or wars for opinions. The best and mildest of wars are always for a tangible object.

Whether the future historian may or may not applaud this portrait, will depend on circumstances. The man who ultimately succeeds is a great man; and he who fails is judged with unbecoming severity. Buonaparte is considered as a most extraordinary man, to which it is answered, that the times called for great exertion, and some one must obey the call; and he who did so was a man who was completely ruled by ambition, and had none of the foibles of ordinary men: he had not even one trait of humanity.

With respect to his moral composition, Buonaparte has great advantages, in so far as to subdue mankind is the object: his heart never combats his head; and he is never led from his purpose either by the feelings or the failings of humanity; but he is neither so great a hero, nor so wicked a monster, as he is represented to be; but a man certainly of far more than ordinary talents and industry, furnished with uncommonly great means, which he employs energetically against his enemies, who have for the most part acted as if they were eager to be undone.

Extraordinary times must call forth extraordinary characters; and the experience of ages, and our

own feelings—in short, the history of the world, shews, that what is recent or uncommon, is always greatly exaggerated; and it is not to be forgotten, that Buonaparte, as well as the other heroes of the French revolution, have, in imitation of their original masters, the jacobins, disembarrassed themselves of all the trammels which morality and honour, according to the ancient customs of mankind, impose on their actions, by which the means of overcoming an enemy, either by manœuvre in the cabinet or the field, are greatly diminished.

It is, at the same time, deeply to be lamented, that those who are so ready to expose his faults, and dwell upon his crimes, should not endeavour to imitate him in those qualities in which he excels other men, and by which he has been enabled to rule over so many that are better than himself*.

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* His perseverance in his undertakings, rewarding those who do real service, and dismissing those who are found unfit to serve the public, highly deserve imitation, and cannot but be admired, even by his greatest enemies: this practice he adopted amongst the jacobins, and if folly and ambition did not destroy their works, such a mode of proceeding would insure success.

HENRY BROUGHAM, ESQ. M.P.

A YOUNG counsellor of more than ordinary merit, who got early into parliament, and became a very active, and for awhile, a leading man in the politics tending to a reform in parliament. To begin with violent opposition to government is the regular step towards participating, afterwards, in the good things of the state, which, by a sort of allegorical expression, are known by the cant phrase of the *Loaves and Fishes*. This is the apprenticeship of speculative politicians; rich ones come into power by connections: and as we have mentioned allegorical expressions, we may, with propriety, speak here of the *Fox and the Grapes*, reversing the picture. The fox abused the grapes when he could not reach them; our apprentice politicians, the candidates for office, abuse the grapes in order to get them within their reach. To drop allegory, patriots rail at places and pensions till they get hold of them, after which, either for want of time or of inclination, they generally cease railing. As Mr. Brougham's career is only begun as a politician, he may be an exception;

but at all events, he may be expected to act with honour and ability; for he is, though enterprising and ardent, entirely free from those extravagancies, or indirect, crooked ways, which are so often observable in politicians who aim at change*.

There is a decision and manliness in Mr. Brougham's character, that give reason to expect that he will, before many years, rise high in the state, and become a leading man in the political world.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

This nobleman, who is now at the head of the Board of Controul for Indian affairs, is as much of a man of business, without noise or bustle, as almost any in the kingdom.

There are many public men whose actions are attended with an unaccountable, and very useless publicity; but who, nevertheless, by that means, without doing much, are supposed to do a great deal; who appear to be always occupied in the

* For the advantages and dangers of a reform in parliament, see Major Cartwright's portrait.

affairs of the nation; while others do a great deal, and are seldom spoken of.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire is of the latter class, who are so honourably occupied without vanity or noise, in filling the respective offices with which they are intrusted.

Never was the office of president of the board of controul so important a situation as it has now become, by the late bill: it is no less than a controul over the twenty-four merchants who govern fifty millions of subjects in India; to whom kings and princes are tributary, and by whom kings and princes are sometimes pensioned off!!

The question between government and the company, and between the company and the free merchants of England, is a very important one; but it is also very intricate, and involves a great multiplicity of considerations, and in such cases the only safe mode of proceeding is to go slowly, and with caution. Human wisdom appears to be unequal to the task of making great changes in great administrations, without committing great mistakes, and the court of directors has very luckily succeeded, for the present, in preventing ministers from proceeding so fast as they were at one time about to do.

The directors were firm, and showed great acquaintance with the interests of the company, and Lord Buckinghamshire and ministers* were candid

* That the present ministers, whose chief claim to the confidence of the nation consists in their steady adherence to practised rules, and the old system of government; that they who are afraid of innovation, should be so eager to innovate in the affairs of the East India Company, is very strange: Mr. Fox fell from an attempt not half so hardy; and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas never would attempt such a change; they knew the danger, both to themselves and to their country.

The time chosen for this dangerous innovation is not the least strange part of the business. The ministers have more to do than they are able to perform, and the safety of the empire depends on their attention to the general interest of Europe, yet it is just at this moment they choose to increase their labour by deciding the India question.

There is still another consideration that greatly adds to the wonder already excited. A very few months must make a great change in the situation of this country, and of Europe: the greatest contest ever engaged in is now raging in the heart of Germany; and it must soon be determined whether French despotism is to be curbed, and brought within the boundaries of that ancient kingdom, or to be extended over Europe! and on this depends the safety of Britain, and the value of our possessions in India.

The eastern commerce, as well as all other branches of commerce, must be greatly dependent on the issue of the great conflict on the

and attentive; so that though another time might have been more favourable for making a change on the affairs, for many evident reasons, yet the alte-

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continent, which cannot be a contest of long duration—it is one last great effort, and must soon terminate in one way or other; so that it is the height of absurdity to choose this moment for making a change in the affairs of India: the nature of their charter is at present indeed, such as no trading company ever held, or ever ought to hold, but it has long been such; for the dividends are independent of the profits: and whilst the utmost exertion would not increase the profits of those concerned, profligacy or waste will not diminish them. This arrangement is contrary to common sense, common justice, and above all, contrary to the nature of things; and the consequence is, what might be expected, the business is a losing concern, while contracts for shipping, provisions, or stores, are all productive of gain; so that the proprietors do not receive much in the shape of dividends, yet under various forms, the sum total of advantages is very great; the division, however, is very unequal, and is on a principle both unsatisfactory and unfair.

The Dutch East India Company, though it never had exclusive possessions in India, divided, on an average, 25 per cent. it was consequently well managed; but the English company is badly managed, and that for the reason given; that while economy and good management will not increase the dividends, neither will mismanagement diminish them: this unnatural, unfair, and absurd arrangement is at the bottom of the evil, and must be removed before that effect ceases: it has occasioned a gradual increase of debt, and the com-

ration that has taken place appears not to be very objectionable, and there is no doubt that Lord

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pany has ceased to be independent, as companies and individuals must always do the moment they become insolvent.

With a capital of twelve millions, a trade is carried on, that produces to the revenue of the country four millions a-year; and the wisdom of ministers in precipitately making a change which may endanger an establishment so productive, is as unwise as it is unnecessary. The same unfortunate and unwise regulation which makes dividends independent of profit and loss, and has had such bad effects on the commercial affairs of the company, has had still worse on their territorial possessions; revenues that maintained the splendid and luxurious establishments of the native princes, are all absorbed in the hands of the agents of the company: patronage is the order of the day, and the persons patronized are the men who absorb the great revenues of the Indian territory.

Tippoo Saib, was reduced, in 1792, to pledge his children for a sum of money, and though he had lost part of his dominions, with the revenue remaining, he redeemed his pledge, and amassed large treasures before the year 1798, when he again made war on the company. All this time he lived in splendour, yet when the whole of his territory fell into the hands of the British, what did it produce! only enough to pay the agents, writers, and military!!

Nothing but mismanagement could occasion such a state of things; and that is owing to the way that government treats the company; though every person employed lives in splendour, and the greatest luxury, and retires with a fortune, yet the company is in debt!

Buckinghamshire will do it all manner of justice: his abilities, his moderation, and his correct way of thinking and acting, are at least the best guarantees, where the power is great, and in many cases its exertion discretional.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BART.

THIS baronet first distinguished himself from the ordinary politicians of the day in rather an eccentric manner. He visited prisons, not quite in the way of Howard, to solace the unfortunate, but to support as far as he could with his countenance, men accused of mutiny, sedition, or such crimes as had some connection with politics.

The noted Mr. Horne Tooke, a well known and eccentric character, had been the tutor of Sir Francis, and probably he might have suggested that the best road to the notice of the public is to do something that nobody else would chuse to do.—Thus it was that beau Nash, (an eccentric man of the last century), first raised himself to notice by

riding naked on a cow, through the city of Bath; this was a singular enough ceremony itself, but nevertheless it led him who performed it to becoming master of the ceremonies to all who repair to that celebrated resort of fashion and frivolity.

One Gallot d'Herbois, in France, raised himself to notice by patronizing mutinous soldiers who had been sent to the galleys, and the French revolution had given a sort of reputation to that description of politicians, called Sans Culottes; men who through idleness or vice were in a starving desperate state, but who, conscious that they were men, insisted on a participation of rights with those who, by industry and good conduct had maintained a higher rank in society. Those same sans culottes, finding that they were very numerous, and might obtain, by strength, the sway over the other ranks of society, had fairly made the effort, and they unluckily had succeeded. It was soon discovered, indeed, that when the multitude ruled, to rule was not worth the trouble, and that to obey was to be a slave.

Mr. Tooke was, from the first of the French revolution, a partizan of the new doctrines by which men were said to be all equal by right, and he had therefore judged very properly, that as they were

not equal in fact, he could not do better than try to raise those who were low, and pull down those who were high.

It seems to have been on this plan that he launched young Sir Francis from the Wimbledon dry dock, ready, on all occasions, to complain of government, and support those who were inclined to oppose it.

It is well known, that when once the imagination occupies itself on the defects of government, it becomes jaundiced, sickly, and at last unjust in its conclusions, although the mind of the man may be naturally well-disposed. Sir Francis Burdett has nothing of the malignant disposition of Horne Tooke; on the contrary, he seems to be a man of good disposition and good intention, but he pursues the same plan, thinking to do good, that his tutor pursued with the most factious intentions*.

Sir Francis has shewn a readiness to give credit to every accusation against government, and to patronize the criminal that has induced him on more

* Through the whole of his life Mr. Tooke perverted abilities of a superior sort, by cavilling, in order to excite others to discontent; and he became a sort of chief to those who wished to be troublesome to the government of the country.

than one occasion to bring forward motions in the house of commons, that were afterwards discovered to be made on grounds entirely false: he increased the discontent and audacity of bad men, and thereby injured the cause he intended to serve; for the liberty that may be enjoyed by any people, is always lessened by the disposition to misrule.

Sir Francis is said to be, in private life, a very amiable man*, and nobody has doubted but that his public motives are good. He appears to see the abuses of government with vexation, and with a jaundiced eye, for he makes not the proper distinctions between abuses that multiply and are magnified in their consequences, and those simple abuses that appear at once at their full extent; neither has he qualified

* It has also been said, that previous to his parliamentary career he was an over-bearing man; this much, however, is certain, that he equivocated with Paull, who gave both him and Horne Tooke the lie direct, yet Paull was not contradicted. The law-suit at Edinburgh, where a declaration was made on the part of Sir Francis, "that his opponents had perjured themselves", and his afterwards settling the matter, to keep it out of court, looks very suspicious.—These circumstances are mentioned because it is a common practice of the friends of Sir Francis, to try to silence those who object to his politics, by boasting of his immaculate private character.

his ideas of government with the conviction that all human institutions are imperfect, and that the imperfection originates in the imperfection of human nature itself; and that therefore, whoever takes perfection for his standard, necessarily adopts a wrong one*. A few more such men as Sir Francis, and England would be undone.

The difference between a few useless places and pensions, and that system of favouritism which fills places where talents and industry are required, with men who have neither the one nor the other, is immense: the one is a mole-hill, the other a huge mountain. But Sir Francis complains most of the nuisance of the mole-hill, and for the removal of that, to what does he look? Why to a reform in the commons house of parliament†! Not recollecting that it is in the nature of the representative system that all the evil originates; for though the representa-

* This is the less to be excused, as the French revolutionists did the same thing; and that it was by doing it they ran into such errors as no ignorant people ever could have run into. And indeed Sir Francis seems little anxious about the country, so as he can get applause from the mob who always follow him.

† For the further discussion of a reform in parliament, see the portrait of Major Cartwright.

tive system is the best that has been imagined for preserving the liberties of a great nation; yet it is attended with many expenses, and many other evils; that from it the great accumulation of places and pensions spring, and particularly that practice of favouritism which fills all subordinate places with protected men. In other countries men of talents are drawn round government, and round the throne: in England men of merit are, as it were, driven from the public affairs altogether, which, in the higher departments, are exclusively conducted by members of parliament; and in the lower, by those who have more or less parliamentary interest and protection.

Whether or not a reform (such as Sir Francis wants, if indeed he has settled in his mind what he wants) would or would not mend the matter, it may be difficult to prove; but this much is certain, that the members chosen, when they once are chosen, will do the best they can for themselves, as they do now, as they always have done, and always will do, it being the nature of man that it should so be.

It is singular that Sir Francis, who speaks so much about purity of election, has occasioned, by his own elections, some of the most scandalous scenes that ever took place: who were to blame, it

is not necessary to inquire, because it is impossible to ascertain*; but capricious fortune could scarcely play a patriot a more spiteful trick than to permit such things to be; as they seem to prove, that those patriotic purification gentlemen just make their way like other mortal men, as well as they can, by all the means in their power. This leads us to think, that it is possible that Burdett's purge would be little better than Pride's purge, in the time of Cromwell, and that the purified parliament would be not any better than those so much complained of.

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* The first affair was an ingenious device for multiplying votes by dividing a freehold mill into a number of shares, each producing 40s. a-year, and thus giving a voter's qualification. This did not succeed, and if it had, might have ruined the representative system entirely, as real or fictitious divisions of property might have been used to the worst of purposes. The second affair consisted in a device much more simple, but less ingenious, being nothing more nor less than *perjury*, and men swearing that they had votes when they had none! Several convictions and transportations to Botany Bay were the consequence to those simple, ignorant patriots, whose zeal for their patron was said to have been stimulated by what vulgar men call a bribe. Be that as it may, it is certain that if the election at Brentford is meant to show us how the representatives of the people should be chosen, we may wish that things may remain as they are.

Opinions have been various as to the conduct of Sir Francis, when he incurred the censure of the house of commons, and was sent to the tower, but all admit that he there got a lesson of moderation. The modest manner in which he retired from his attending friends, avoiding pomp, and show, and ceremony, and refusing triumphal honours, as well as his conduct ever since, have shewn that the baronet is capable of making a reform in his own conduct, when he finds it prudent or necessary.

The opinions of Sir Francis are so much in the extreme, that he will never effect any thing important in regard to political changes, for he will not be assisted by moderate men, who are necessary assistants in all cases where a change is to be operated by public opinion: this is very fortunate for his country, and particularly so for himself. Men of the most exaggerated and extravagant ideas may float on the surface of a revolution after it has begun; but those who begin it, must have wisdom for their guide, and moderation for their object; which alone can bring men from a state of order and tranquillity, into one of action and resistance.

GEORGE BYNG, ESQ. M.P.

One of the old whigs, a moderate reformer, and a man who has never acted an equivocal, but rather a manly, fair, and open part.

It would be well for themselves, and well for the country, if many others possessed the moderation of Mr. Byng; but it must also be added, that unless there were others more active, and more ardent, public affairs would receive but little attention.

Mr. Byng, like most men who do not adopt the extreme opinions of either party, and who has not sufficient talents or exertion to make a party of his own, is not a favourite with any set of political characters, nor does he enjoy their confidence, though it would be far better for them to adopt his moderation, than for him to go into their mad projects of reform, the nature of which they do not know; concerning which there are a hundred different opinions; and the dangerous tendency of which has been made very evident, by recent and fatal experience.

LORD BYRON.

This young nobleman has only hitherto shewn his abilities as a poet and a traveller; but it is not difficult to see, that possessing rank, fortune, and talents, and actuated by ambition, he will some day mix in politics, and in all human probability will play an important part.

Lord Byron's poetry is not of the light sort, that is generally expected from young men; on the contrary, there is a turn of thought runs through the whole, that would lead one rather to think the writer was a man in years, who had seen and proved all things, and who was disposed to exclaim with the King of Israel, "*Vanitas Vanitatis.*"

Some of Lord Byron's works attach the reader much to his person; but the reader so attached must be greatly distressed, to see that, like Rinaldo, in the forest of Ardennes, his lordship seems pursued by something that hangs upon his mind, from which neither velocity of movement, nor his own exertions, can rescue him.

When his lordship first appeared, he was attacked

by the reviewers, but they had no reason to boast of the result*. A similar thing happened when Dr.

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* The manner in which books are reviewed in this country is one that requires some regulation, were it practicable to regulate it; but it is not practicable. Those great men who sit in judgment over poor authors, amuse themselves and the public at their expense, in a manner rather more curious than feeling. Being a congregated set of men, who, like cabinet ministers, or bank directors, are sworn or pledged to secrecy, (and what is better, interested in keeping it), however much they offend an author, they run no personal risk as individuals; and as a body, having a periodical work at their disposal and command, they can, without any trouble to themselves, defend their conduct, should they be attacked; and whoever does not receive correction kindly, may have it repeated, till he is tired with a contest, in which not the rights of the question, but the relative situation of the parties, makes the chief consideration.

Whoever has seen a school-boy *humanely* occupied in what is termed spinning a cock-chaffer; or noticed the London bullock-hunters, with sticks and stones, (and assisted by dogs), driving one of those fatigued and tormented animals before them, may form some idea of the luxury of a reviewer, and the safety and facility with which he torments the poor author whose work he criticises.

It is not a difficult matter to treat with severity any work, provided, (as is a very common practice), the reviewer is only to notice what suits his purpose, and is careful to avoid setting off beauties against defects. Writers are in some respects like the people

Walcott, alias Peter Pindar, first began to write: he was violently attacked by the reviewers, but he

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of France before the revolution; they have their privileged orders and their *tiers etat*: some authors are protected by the multitude of those whose interests are the same with their own; and others, because their reputation is already established. Reviewers look at such writers with a distant sort of kindness, and just make one or two sharp, but friendly remarks, in order to shew what they could do if they pleased.

Reviewers who set to work generally with a strong disposition to find fault, and with considerable talents for that purpose, feel but little difficulty or danger in hurting the feelings of a young writer, or of one who does not belong to any literary phalanx; not but that reviewers themselves might be attacked with success, as to critical observation, but then there would neither be advantage nor safety in the attack.

In this country reviews are generally conducted on an unfair principle, representing, as they do, every fault or error as being a disgrace to an author; that is to say, judging as if perfection were attainable, and that whoever falls short of that, must be held up as one of the writers who disgrace the age. It is admitted by all the best writers, and by all reasonable men, that there being no such thing on earth as perfection, the degree of merit of any person, or of any production, is comparative, and therefore to be estimated by comparing it with other works of the same kind. Thus Mr. Hume very properly says, "That when one observes that able men are few in number, the observation amounts to nothing, because it must, in

made them repent their rashness: a few more such poets as Pindar and his lordship, and the self-created censors of the press would be more cautious.

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every case, be those few who distinguish themselves from the many, that are by preference called able; and if the great number were endowed with the same ability, the few that excelled would still be called the able, and those now called able would be considered as ordinary men."

As, then, perfection, is not attainable, some criterion for our judgment is to be sought after, that will prevent the mistake of condemning an author for every error; and it occurs that there is no way so fair as to examine critically books that have long stood the test, and are generally considered as excellent.

The reviewers, (counting the regular troops, the supernumeraries, and volunteers doing duty occasionally), form of themselves a considerable literary phalanx, whether estimated by their numbers, or by their talents, or by the mode they have of distributing their works. They are like riflemen, hid amongst bushes, and taking aim at their ease, and with perfect safety; they have their favourite authors; their favourite theories and tenets; and their favourite public characters. Whoever comes not under the description of a favourite, or is connected with themselves, is certain to be treated as an enemy.

The advantages of a periodical work, supported by numbers, over an individual, are too evident to require being pointed out; it is sufficient to say, that though an individual may reply victoriously, in a particular case, that will be of little avail; the reviewers return

When Lord Byron first began to write, his lines had merit, but they breathed a quite different sort of

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to the subject without difficulty or expense, and where they fail in argument, they raise a laugh, which, accompanied with some hardy assertion, serves the same purpose with the greater number of readers.

It might surprise those who think that an error in a book is a proof of the ignorance of the author, to be told, that in the first page of Euclid's Elements, (perhaps the most correct book that exists), there is an error unnoticed by Simpson, or any of the able men who have edited it. The eighth definition runs thus:—"An angle is formed by the meeting of two lines in one point, *that are in the same plane.*" In order that a definition in mathematics should be correct, it should express the properties essential to what is defined; but there should be no condition attached that is not necessary, much less that is absurd, as every thing is that makes a condition of what is not conditional, but necessary. Now, the condition of two lines meeting in the *same plane*, is one of this sort, it cannot be ortherwise: two lines must be in the same plane, if they form an angle at one extremity, for the same reason that all the feet of a tripod must touch the substance on which it stands.

As mathematics is the only science that admits of perfect accuracy, one error in a book of that sort, committed by one of the greatest masters, (a book universally studied for above twenty centuries, and translated and edited by the ablest men in every country), is equivalent to a great number of errors in a book on any other subject. So much, then, for perfect infallibility: after this we certainly must

language from what his latter productions do. His lordship's farewell to the abode of his fathers

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seek for some other criterion to judge by, and not set down every writer as ignorant, who is detected in an error. If the great master in mathematics fell into such an error at his first outset, what is to be expected from writers on subjects that are not susceptible of such accuracy as mathematics? It is therefore not at all surprising to detect the great David Hume, (the olympic Jove), committing a *faux pas:* as for example, in his Dissertation on the Passions, section iii. 7, (page 201, vol. 2, edition 1777), Mr. Hume says—"In respect there is a mixture of humility with esteem or affection. In contempt, a mixture of pride."—With what? Now what is the meaning of the latter part of this sentence? The first part is perfectly clear and right, but the second incomprehensible. With what is pride mixed in order to compose contempt? Not, certainly, with esteem or affection, which, according to the natural construction of the sentence, it ought to be; but which we feel that it cannot be. Were we, without understanding any thing of the matter, or which is the same thing, without using our understanding, to mix up the ingredients, as an apothecary's apprentice, merely by the recipe of Hume, we should say—esteem and affection, with some quantity of humility, compose respect; take away the humility, and substitute *quantum sufficit* of pride, and you have contempt in place of respect: if there is any meaning in the sentence this is it. But again, it is impossible that Mr. Hume could ever mean to say that esteem and affection make any of the component parts of contempt, when we know that so different is the case, that when there are sufficient

though short, is excellent; and at the same time that it shews a sacred respect for an honourable and long

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causes for contempt, affection will prevent their operation; and as to esteem it is exactly the opposite, and quite incompatible with it. So that, of this mixture, two of the ingredients are opposite, and could never be combined; and of the remaining two, the one would destroy the other. Have we a friend who acts contemptibly, so as to excite that passion, friendship flies, and pity succeeds, perhaps, as a companion to contempt, and probaby anger and disgust. Mr. Hume has either erred in writing what was wrong in its substance, or incomplete in expression; if the former, he has erred as a philosopher, if the latter as a grammarian and accurate writer. The latter is probably the case. Perhaps he meant to say—In respect there is a mixture of humility with esteem or affection—in contempt a mixture of pride with disapprobation, and anger or enmity. This might not have been his meaning, but it is nevertheless right, and renders the sentence complete: it neither wants grammar nor truth; for wherever there is contempt, there is a comparison to our own advantage. This is connected with pride; and there must be disapprobation, for we do not contemn a man for misfortune, unless his own conduct has had some share in bringing it on: if the misfortune is unmerited, then it is pity, not contempt. Now, again, disapprobation or blame is always accompanied with some degree, greater or less, of anger; so that it is more than probable Mr. Hume meant something like that.

In making this criticism on the works of so great a man, there is not the least intention to depreciate him, either as a writer or philo-

line of ancestors, it expresses a resolution to emulate their virtues by following their example: it is ex-

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sopher, for he had few equals as either the one or the other; but merely to shew, that if justice were laid to the line, and judgment to the plummet, none could stand; and that therefore the mighty writers in the reviews proceed on a false principle, when they tear up a work for a few inaccuracies and mistakes. If critics were to go to work so with *their* favourite demi-gods in literature, *their* pantheon would soon be empty.

Returning to article sixth of the same section in Hume, we find an analysis of contempt. "Poverty, meanness, and disappointment produce contempt and dislike; but when these misfortunes are very great, or represented to us in very strong colours, they excite compassion, and tenderness, and friendship." Now, here again must be a mistake: it is difficult to say whether it is in the meaning or in the language; if by meanness Mr. Hume signifies mean condition, he is right in the philosophy of the thing, but wrong as a man of letters; for meanness only applies, when so used, to mean conduct: as for instance, Belisarius, begging and blind, was in a mean condition, but the word meanness could not apply to him. And again, if by meanness is intended meanness of conduct, though that is not altogether incompatible with compassion and tenderness, it is incompatible with friendship, in so far, that if the friendship existed previously, it would paliate and disguise the meanness of the action by finding some excuse for it; but if it were not able to do that, it would cease to be friendship.

Why, it may be asked, do not the reviewers see the errors in the

pressed as if he thought their shades were hovering over their former habitation, and watching the

object of their adoration? The answer is this—They look not for errors, but for beauties; and if by chance they were to see any error, like the sons of Noah, they would walk backwards, that they might not discover the nakedness of their father.

Perhaps we might find far more important errors and inconsistencies in the writings of the same great philosopher, for such he certainly was; but this criticism on his work is only meant to show the impropriety of running down a book merely because there are some errors in it, which is the practice of reviewers in general, wherever the writer does not belong to their own party; and when he does, then he is treated with proportionate tenderness.

It is possible, however, that this practice prevails through not considering the nature of the case and what is right, and from following what is become custom, as if it were an established rule; which originated, not in ill nature, but rather in a wish to make the reviews sell. It would certainly be better to do as the reviewers on the continent did, previous to the French revolution, and as they do with books of science still; where they point out the useful parts of a work, and pay their chief attention to the circumstance of, whether or not it accomplishes the end proposed by the author when he began the work; keeping always in mind, that some allowances are to be made for the man who is employed in investigating or communicating useful truths, and who sometimes forgets the due attention to the elegance, or even accuracy of his language.

Mr. Locke, one of the greatest of writers, in his Essay on the

conduct of their descendant. It is with feelings of much regret that we find a turn of thought quite the opposite running through the latter works of his lordship: and if a portrait painter may be allowed to ask him who sits to change his position, we should wish Lord Byron to change his, and to recollect what he was when he so impressively addressed the honoured

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Conduct of the Understanding, on the important article Despondency, (§ 38, page 111, edition in octavo, 1706) says—"Nobody knows the strength of his mind, and the force of study and regular application, till he has tried. This is certain, he that sets out upon weak legs, will not only go farther, but also grow stronger than one who, with a vigorous constitution, and firm limbs, *only sits still.*" Here is a double error; a vigorous man who *sits still* is out-walked by a weak man, who sets himself fairly in motion!—a complete absurdity. Again, the weak man is to grow stronger than the vigorous one: this is not quite so absurd as the former assertion, because it may happen, though not necessarily; yet who would look upon these, in Mr. Locke, as any thing but an oversight. The conclusion from all this is, that perfection is a wrong standard, and that new men are treated with a rigour and ill nature, by the self created critics of this country, that does not tend to advance the interests of literature, and that is neither fair nor equitable.

Euclid, Locke, and Hume, three of the greatest men, are found inaccurate, and guilty of mistakes for which men of mediocrity would obtain no excuse.

shades of his brave ancestors; he would then be a far happier man, and like Rinaldo, before he finished his journey, he would find that black care had quitted his company.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CALVERT,

ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

This gentleman fills, and has filled for a number of years, one of the most important offices in the military department, for even when only deputy-adjutant-general, the whole of the labour and duty fell upon him, his principal being in a state of health that disabled him from personally conducting an office where the details are numerous, and the attention required incessant.

When but a young soldier, Captain Calvert distinguished himself in Flanders, and was noticed by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, whose confidence he gained by his attention to performing every service assigned to him, and by those mild

and obliging manners for which he is so highly distinguished.

To possess great power, and display the same obliging disposition to inferiors that men in office generally reserve for those above them, is not a very common thing, and entitles to no small degree of praise; but when to that is added the most eager desire, and constant attention to do justice to all those who have any business to transact, such a man in office is still more deserving of praise.

His Royal Highness, the Commander-in-chief, could not possibly have had a better officer in the situation of adjutant-general, for in every amelioration or improvement, General Calvert has not only aided readily, but has displayed a zeal for the welfare of the army, that overcame every obstacle.

The establishing of a military school for science, and an asylum for the children of soldiers, with a constant attention to all fair remonstrances, whether coming from a body or from individuals, have distinguished the conduct of the Duke and of General Calvert, and so perfectly have they acted in unison, that when they have not been interrupted, or shackled by persons in other departments, they have constantly been

promoting the welfare of the service*. They are both practical soldiers, and know that mere routine

* If the ordnance department, as it is termed, were not a separate department, it would be much better; if it is for the manufacture of cannons and mortars that there is a master-general, it would be full as necessary to have a master-general for the manufacture of muskets and bayonets, and far more necessary to have one for the construction of ships of war.

It is always an injury to the service when there are two administrations independent of each other, but co-operating for one purpose. The commander-in-chief, and the war-office should have as complete a controul over the ordnance department, as over any other establishment for military equipments. It is not meant to be said, that the ordnance or artillery department is not of great importance; but however great the skill required, it is but a part of the military system, it is not a whole of itself, and ought not to be separate or independent. The master-general, as he is termed, (the title is tolerably appropriate, for he meddles with no particulars), is the person to whom the artillery officers make their reports, and to whom they are responsible; but as the master-general is sometimes a man of scientific knowledge, and sometimes not, it would be much better if the artillery officers reported to the commander-in-chief, who always understands military affairs in all the departments, and who feels deeply interested in every thing concerning the properly furnishing the army. Lord Chatham was for a time master-general, and that nobleman, so amiable in private life, it will be allowed, had not one of the qualities necessary for superintending that department. As for the officers who inspect any new invention in the military art, it

will not always do, and that in the present times expedition in execution is as necessary as good plans, and that to proceed in new improvements in the slow way that was done formerly, is of no sort of utility.

The flying artillery, Congreve's rockets, and several other improvements, have been brought forward with a spirit and expedition that deserve

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is a curiosity to see them: they are like so many philosophers, abstracted from all earthly considerations, cool, slow, and quite beyond any of those human movements that give animation. The proposer of any thing new is treated with a distant species of *hauteur* that is scarcely describable: a spy brought into the camp of an enemy is not looked on with much more suspicion, and is often treated with more civility; so much is this the case, that whoever has experienced the humiliation once, if he has any feeling, will avoid it a second time.

They manage this matter better in France, and the consequence is, that they have twenty new improvements for our one. Maupertuis, and his brother astronomers, when they went into the frozen regions, to measure a degree, did not act with more deliberate dignity; and the boors in Kamskatka found them more condescending than the proposer of a new plan finds the board of inspectors at Woolwich. The misfortune of all this is, that the reports to the master-general are obliged to pass for something at the war-office, where they are much more capable of judging themselves. This is a part of the military arrangements that should be altered.

much credit: and indeed, at the commander-in-chief's office, every proposal for improvement meets with a proper attention; there it is examined, the proposer is treated with good nature and civility, and so far as it depends on that office, every thing that is necessary is done, which was not the case before the Duke and General Calvert had the management of that department; but unfortunately, every new invention must be submitted to the board of ordnance if it has any sort of connection with the arming of the military, and there the manner of acting is quite the reverse*.

MARQUIS OF CAMDEN.

THERE are, in the political world, services of a public nature, and others which, though public as to the good they produce, are very private as to their nature and performance.

The Marquis of Wellington, for example, has done public service in a very public manner; all Europe knows it, and more than half of Buonaparte's marshals can testify how rude he is when serving

* This assertion is made with a positive knowledge of its truth.

his country, and how seriously he sets about it. Lord Nelson's services were of the same description, and made a great noise in the world; but, as the tree is known by its fruit, and as Earl Camden has been raised to the high rank of marquis, there is not a doubt that he has done some great service, though in a less noisy way than the heroes of the Nile and of Vittoria. When we saw the order of the garter* given to the Marquis of Stafford, we were sure he had been privately at work serving his country; and so of the Marquis of Camden. On some day, no doubt, when it is least expected, the world will find out the nature and description of the services that have so modestly been rendered, and so honourably rewarded. This family has risen to rank very rapidly: the father of the marquis officiated at the coronation of his present majesty as plain Mr. Pratt.

* It was with great difficulty that Earl Howe obtained the order of the garter, though it was he that, on the 1st of June 1794, broke the spirit of the French navy, and prepared the way for all the victories that have followed. Till then the French dared us openly at sea; since that period they have always tried to skulk, in preference to fighting. The order of the garter was originally instituted for warriors. The first 24 knights companions of the brave black prince were all fighting men and commoners; now no commoner wears the garter, let him fight ever so well.

THE RIGHT HON. GEO. CANNING, M.P.

This gentleman is calculated to serve his country both by his abilities and his zeal for its welfare, but he does not do either his country or himself justice. His talents are both solid and brilliant: he is a man of business, and a man of wit, but he seems more anxious to display the latter talent than to exercise the former, without reflecting on the great injury which he thereby does to himself.

The utility of public men depends greatly on public opinion, and it is very difficult, as we may easily learn from the experience of past times, for a man who has the reputation of a wit, to have also that of a solid man of business, without which he does not enjoy that confidence which is necessary for important affairs.

Mr. Burke was one of the most profound men of his own or of any age; he might have ranked with Montesquieu, Locke, Hume, and others, who have written on abstruse and difficult subjects; but his eccentricity, and his admirable talent for sarcasm and ridicule, broke down his character, which being

thus divided, he has never had justice done him.—Even Voltaire, who was the idol of the literary world for more than half a century, owing to his being a wit and a poet, has been held very cheap, and undervalued as a philosopher and a historian; he has been supposed to be superficial and inaccurate, though he was neither the one nor the other; and it would be easy to produce a number of examples to the same purpose*. Mr. Canning does not require more than a hint, and it yet remains with himself to alter the public opinion, for he is but a young man.

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* Dr. Robertson (no mean authority) says, that he had followed Voltaire through some of his historical works, and found him very accurate: he said he believed if the quotations from authorities, and the sources of facts had been given, he would then have had that reputation for accuracy which he deserved. Voltaire wrote history in a flippant manner; and although he actually was the literary Colossus of his age, though he ruled as supremely over the majority of men of letters, as Buonaparte does over the princes of the continent, he could not obtain the reputation for accuracy that he deserved. How then can a man of inferior talents expect to succeed, if he neglects the costume, the manner, and the semblance of what he wishes to be thought? A parliamentary speaker, if he only means to be a speaker, may be a wit if he pleases, and deal in epigrams; but if he aspires to be a statesman, and a man intrusted with business, he must be serious, and shew that his heart is as well placed as his head.

Mr. C. has great acuteness of parts, united with taste, and therefore should know the beauty of fitness. The great Lord Chatham was irresistible when he wished to attack his antagonist personally, but he had majesty, not levity in his manner. Even Lord North, a man of infinite good humour as well as wit, only called the latter in to his aid occasionally, and there never was any unbecoming levity, much less flippancy, in his manner.

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox had both great powers of irony in aid of reason, but they used them sparingly, knowing that the first requisite of an orator is to seem impressed with the importance of his subject, and to appear seriously convinced of the truths he wishes to impress on the minds of those to whom he addresses himself.

Mr. Sheridan, whose wit is so brilliant that it runs quite away with his character as a speaker, is, nevertheless, a very sound politician; he never reasons badly, but sometimes admirably well; yet he never could obtain the credit he deserved; for whenever he rose to speak, the house expected a rich entertainment, without looking for much instruction.

We are at this pains with Mr. Canning* because

* It is impossible to speak of Mr. Canning without adverting to

we think he does not do himself justice, and feel that it is desirable he would do it; and we mean no offence in telling him plainly, that there is a flip-

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some circumstances relative to his conduct when minister for foreign affairs. The dispute with Lord Castlereagh has been pretty generally canvassed, but very little understood. There was no duplicity on either side, as has been supposed; it was not owing to any personal dislike, but a difference of opinion respecting certain official business, that the misunderstanding that terminated in a duel took place. It is believed that some cabinet secrets relative to the expedition to Walcheren, (the most fatal and the worst conducted that ever sailed from the British shores), must be known before we can fairly decide on this difference. The appointment of Lord Chatham, the delay in recalling the men, the whole was so ill conducted, and so ill explained, that there is evidently something concealed, and Mr. Canning was justly discontented.

Mr. Canning was said to have remunerated the Count d'Antraigues (an intriguing emigrant of no mean abilities) in a very liberal manner, for a supposed copy of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit. The count pretended to have obtained the copy privately, when the fact was that he had fabricated it; and ministers might have known that it was a fabrication, as the pretended history of the document could not be true.

The document could only be obtained from a minister in high confidence with the Emperor of Russia! Could such a man be supposed to betray his master, in order that a French emigrant in London might put £5000 in his pocket? If such a strange thing had taken place, must not the Emperor Alexander have discovered it, and

pancy in his manner which ill accords with the solidity of his matter: he is, moreover, too eager to seek occasion to shine. Great men seize occasion when it comes, but they do not seek for it: to seek for it is bad taste, and seldom answers the purpose.

It is easy to understand that on a serious business, such as national prosperity, or national destruction, (which are the subjects of debate at the present period), gaiety cannot be interpreted in a way favour-

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punished the traitor! What would have been the conduct of Buonaparte on such an occasion? Would not he have demanded the head of the traitor? If he had done so, could Alexander, either in justice or in honour, have refused it?

The expedition to Copenhagen, it is also said, was undertaken in consequence of this fabricated document, and when the fabricator came to a sudden, a miserable, and an unaccountable end, by the hands of an unprovoked and unsuspected assassin, there were not wanting persons who said that the obscure Italian had revenged the sacking of the capital of Denmark. It has been alleged that ministers were not deceived, but wanted such a document, and pretended to give it credit; this is more likely: but to those who know the talents of D'Antraigues, and the general speculations of intriguing foreigners, on the credulity of ministers, and their success in a thousand instances, will not be surprised at the success of an impostor on this occasion. True or false, what ministers wanted was furnished, and the man who furnished it was rewarded.

able to a man who wishes to be intrusted with national affairs; let Mr. Canning, then, think for himself.

Except as a speaker, Mr. Canning has not that levity of character which is supposed. He is assiduous and attentive, and enters, with great warmth, into the interests of his country.

It is the more to be regreted that Mr. Canning is not in an official situation, that being a man of genius he appreciates it in other men, and unfortunately it is a contempt, or at least neglect of men of talents, which renders this nation inferior to France in so many of her operations in war, diplomacy, and internal policy.

Mr. Canning has good views, and much energy, united with talents for public business; and if more difficult times should come, we hope and expect to see him called to an important situation, in which it is to be regretted that he did not continue.

EARL OF CARLISLE.

His lordship has long been a political character, without entering deeply into the plans or schemes of any party, probably owing to his attention being much taken up in literary pursuits. Most part of our politicians attend to nothing but politics, and some of them have a supreme contempt for literature of every description.

On his taking his seat in the house of peers, he soon distinguished himself, during Lord North's administration, and was made treasurer of the household in 1778. When it was resolved to make an attempt to come to an amicable arrangement with the American congress, Lord Carlisle was chosen to be one of his Majesty's commissioners for that purpose, which is a proof of his being considered as a man of address, integrity, and ability; but the attempt did not succeed. Soon after his return from America, he became first lord of trade and plantations, and was nominated Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in which country his administration gave great satisfaction.

His lordship has divided his time betwixt politics and the muses: he is a nobleman of an elegant

taste, has written several plays that have considerable merit, and in politics he has always had a laudable degree of moderation, that prevented his going to such great lengths as some of his contemporaries and friends have done.

When the whig party separated in 1792, the Earl of Carlisle was one of those who differed in politics from the late Mr. Fox; and by a sort of misconception that is not uncommon, Mr. Fox, and those who agreed with him, were considered as remaining stationary, and the others as deserting them, when in reality the contrary was the case.—The admirers of the French revolution were those who adhered to Fox; and the abolition of rank, and the house of peers, was a part of their system. The old whigs never dreamt of such innovations; and Mr. Burke very properly, and with infinite humour and powers of ridicule, exposed the inconsistency of their conduct; but Mr. Fox gloried in his first opinion of the French constitution, and adhered to it till his dying day.

There are few statesmen who have run so long a political career as this nobleman, without getting into some misunderstanding with one party or other, but Lord Carlisle, either by his prudence or moderation, has steered clear of all altercation.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT,

(CALLED THE FATHER OF REFORM).

THIS gentleman, who has been labouring for more than thirty years to bring about a reform in parliament, is now termed the Father of Reform by his followers: he is the Nestor of the reformers. But with all his wisdom, and notwithstanding the time he has been recommending a change, he has never once had the goodness to tell us what sort of a reform he wants.

In the mere abstract, a reform is always desirable, because in the abstract we neither estimate the price nor the risk, we merely consider the reform, which, of course must, taken simply in itself, be a desirable thing; but as in putting schemes in practice, the price and the risk ought always to be calculated, men who wish to avoid such rocks as others have split upon, will never seek to produce reform, merely as reform; they will not act till they have in view some particular species of reform, the difficulty and danger of which may be in some measure estimated.

When Major Cartwright and his associates began

to call for a reform in parliament, there was some excuse for thinking that a reform might be effected without much risk, but there has been so great and so fatal an experiment made in a neighbouring country, that it is absolutely incumbent on him who would reform the government of his country with safety, to re-consider the subject.

Lord Bacon and Sir Isaac Newton both laid it down as a rule, to be guided by the result of experiment in preference to theory, in all subjects of investigation in natural philosophy; and it is, if possible, more necessary to follow that rule in political arrangements, wherein forms of government are included. Our political alchymists, who aim at some ideal perfection, should look around them; they ought to consider whether or not this world produces any thing like perfection, and whether great danger is not sometimes incurred in seeking to attain what never yet has been attained.

When the experimental alchymist, in trying to make gold, composed gunpowder, and blew up his apparatus, he took a lesson from experience, and profited by what had taken place: he took care, and those who followed him also took the necessary precautions when they made so dangerous a compound, for they were convinced that they had

discovered an instrument of destruction, and not the object of their first research.

When about forty years ago those reformers sought to make a perfect government by means of equal representation and universal suffrage, they were in the situation of this alchymist when he mixed his combustible materials; before the explosion, they did not know the mischief that such a composition would produce. We are now convinced, or at least ought to be convinced, that there is great danger in great changes, and we should examine in what that danger consists*.

* Though the reformers have never condescended to tell us what sort of a reform they want, and though they are certainly by no means agreed amongst themselves on that point, yet it is well understood, that an equal representation, and universal suffrage, are the basis of all their schemes. This is what they term a reform on principle; and indeed what other reform can men aim at, who object to the present representation, not so much on account of the badness of the members chosen, as the bad manner of choosing them? Such men are complete theorists, who, having formed to themselves a plan, or theory, conceive it of more importance to adhere to that at all risks, than to follow a safe road that does not correspond with their theory. This way of thinking is nothing less than political fanaticism, where men adopt some imaginary guide, and make happiness consist in obstinately adhering to that, whether crowned with success, or productive of serious misfortune.—

Major Cartwright, and those who adhere to him, are above this sort of wisdom: they despise such

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The great body of whigs who, since the days of Queen Ann, have formed the opposition, were constantly employed in finding out some greivance to render the people discontented, and annoy government: it was not, however, till about thirty years ago, that they found out the nation would be ruined if there was not a reform in parliament. It is no doubt true, and must be admitted, that considering the members of the house of commons as representatives of the people, they are chosen in a way that looks rather as the effect of caprice, or of accident, than of any regular plan. Opposition could not, therefore, hit on any expedient more fit for maintaining discontent, than calling for reform; accordingly a reform was demanded, on this plan and principle—That all men in the nation should be equally represented, which they are not. The most ignorant could be made to comprehend that it was wrong that Old Sarum, or a decayed place in Cornwall, should be represented by two members, when Westminster or York had no more. They could also be easily made to conceive, that unequal representation did harm; and ignorant men, (disposed readily enough to be discontented), were not difficult to persuade that all their misfortunes and inconveniences might be removed by a reform in parliament.

Whilst thus thought the ignorant multitude, many men of good understanding conceived that it was possible that the mode of election of members might be with advantage brought nearer to an equal representation. Those who called out for reform were at one time a very numerous body, divided into three distinct sorts,

precautions, and therefore continue (something like a parrot in a cage), bauling out reform without any

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of persons. First—Those who sought reform merely as a basis on which to stand while they annoyed government. Second—Those who, wishing for the best, and conceiving that things might be improved, allowed themselves to be led away by the arguments of the oppositionists. Third—The great mass of discontented and ignorant people who catched at the word, and without talents to examine, or seeking to inquire, adopted the opinion on trust, that a reform was necessary. Of such component parts did the reformers consist previous to the French revolution; but when that took place, it soon made an alteration.

The French at first wished to imitate the English in the representative system, and in their ardent and uninformed impetuosity, they soon attempted to surpass their neighbours; in short, they went (as we shall presently explain) on the plan of equal representation, and universal suffrage. Their plan completely failed. The consequence of which was, that the class No. 2, of the reformers in England, finding the danger of such a plan, quitted the other two portions. Mr. Burke was at the head of this party, and by his profound arguments and eloquence, greatly augmented their number.

Those who sought reform for party purposes, those who were too obstinate to change, and all who were too ignorant to profit by making a comparison, still continued to call for reform; and at the head of this body stands Major Cartwright, who, nevertheless, does not conduct himself like a factious man, and who certainly is not an ignorant man, but who seems to be too obstinate (a softer word

mercy, thinking, like the Charlatan who sold his orvietan, that though he had poisoned the people in

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does not occur) to learn from the experiment that has been made. This is worth examining, and it is well worth while to show that the English could not avoid ruin any more than the French, were they to go on the plan of universal representation.

The French were represented in the first assembly of 1789, in a mixed sort of way, something like our house of commons; and, with a little attention and management, all might have gone well enough; but a few factious leaders led them astray by a false definition of equality, and by establishing equal representation. The assembly that succeeded was chosen by the lower orders, they constituting a great majority of the electors, and that assembly overturned the monarchy, and established the guilotine for refractory constituents.

It is one of the misfortunes of a reform on principle, that there is no point to stop at till we go to the full length. Expediency, propriety, practicability, and fitness, are words that sink before principle, which is the magic talisman that is to produce every advantage.—As the first assembly did not want to make the very rabble rule they had made a sort of restriction on voters: they required a qualification, namely, to pay three livres a-year direct taxes: those who did not pay that small sum (?s. 6d.) were not to have a vote; but though there was some wisdom in this, it was absurd from men who had proclaimed equality; and therefore when the king was dethroned, and the constitution overturned, the *sans culottes* (and that not unreasonably) insisted that there should be no qualification for

the village on the right border of the river, yet that those on the left bank should buy and swallow

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voters, but that, except paupers and criminals, all should be alike. It was then that the principle of equal representation had its full extent, and certainly a more villanous or vile assemblage of men than those elected, never were congregated. Equal representation in England would lead nearly to the same end, and if we begin reform, we cannot stop; let us therefore consider how it would be.

As every borough is a part of a county, the boroughs must all be done away, and the counties chuse members according to their population. Middlesex would send about forty members, and all would be chosen by the lower class of people, for the voters of a better sort being a minority, would not find any utility in voting, and if they did, they would be liable to be ill-treated. There would be about seven thousand votes for each member, so that there would not be any very great importance gained by the individual. Now Major Cartwright, and all radical reform men, must let the thing come to this; *there is no intermediate point to stop at.* The same arguments that there now are for a change, would be still stronger if the reform were once begun. We can at least plead our present degree of happiness for remaining as we are; but if once begun to reform, we have nothing to plead for not going the full length.

In taking another view of the matter, a reform is less desirable than even theorists think. The most able members of parliament get first into the house, (and have long done so), by rotten boroughs, or at least by close boroughs; and when they are in, they just act as much for the advantage of the country, as those who represent the largest

his prescription all the same, as if none had suffered, alleging that they, living on the other side, might not feel the same effect.

Major Cartwright and the reformers, by their continual clamour, the long continuance of their efforts, and the boldness of their assertions, gain an influence over the minds of many persons, which is altogether of a dangerous nature; for if a demand be repeated ten thousand times, and for a century, though it does not alter its nature, yet wonderfully powerful is that repetition on the minds of the bulk of mankind: the slave trade was happily repealed through that perseverance; the law of imprisonment for debt was lately altered through the same means, and many good changes have been brought about in like manner; but so may bad changes be produced; for it appears that the mind at last yields without an effort, after repeated demands, to what it resisted, in the first instance, in the most decided and determined manner.

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county in the kingdom. When a nation sees others far before it in arts, sciences, or in political arrangements, it may copy boldly, but the nation that stands higher than all others cannot copy, neither can it know that there is any certain means of amelioration; such a nation should be contented, and act with caution; for it has much more to lose than it can calculate upon gaining

Major Cartwright is a gentleman, and a man of good intentions; and it is most sincerely to be hoped that he will re-consider the business of reform, for his example will influence many.

LORD CASTLEREAGH.

This nobleman is a strong example of the utility and advantage of hypocrisy to a statesman. Had Lord Castlereagh been less open and frank, had he concealed part of his conduct, and blazoned forth the rest, he would have passed for one of the best men of the age; one of the politicians who mixed humanity with policy, and who never, even when it was to effect a good purpose, permitted himself to do an action unbecoming a man.

The union with Ireland, and the attack on Copenhagen, are the two great political operations for which Lord C. is attacked, and in these he has shewn how vain and useless it is to offer a defence where the matter is prejudged to a man's disadvantage.

It would require a large volume to contain an examination of the policy and justice of the union,

and not a small one to say all that might be said relative to Copenhagen; but though the details are long, and the questions intricate, a few words may set both these matters to rest.

Ireland, at the time of the union with Scotland, bitterly complained of the preference given to the latter; and Swift, its patriot and organ, augmented the discontent. Earl Clare's speeches clearly prove that Ireland required a union: it was determined on, and adopted as much as a matter of necessity as of voluntary policy. Lord C. was a most active instrument, and even Mr. Plowden, in his history of the union, though an enemy to the measure, admits, and states that Lord C. in several instances mitigated the severity of the law, and procured pardon for men who were about to suffer, by suspending sentences too hastily obtained. It is too soon yet to say that the union has not answered: the Irish are too impatient. The Scottish union in 1707, did not begin to be advantageous till about 1755, and now we see what an excellent effect it has produced.

As to Copenhagen, every succeeding day has shewn that it was necessary, for that, according to the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, the fleet of the Noble Dane was destined to swell that of the Ruler of the continental system, and of the enemy of Britain,

her colonies and commerce*. It was but snatching from the innocent by-stander the weapon destined

* We can state from the authority of a person every way entitled to credit, both for veracity and intelligence, that the seizure both of the Danish and Portuguese fleets were determined upon in May 1807; that the Danish and Dutch fleets united, were to have made a landing somewhere on the east coast of England or Scotland, in order to make a serious diversion, while the ships from Brest, Rochfort, Cadiz, Lisbon, and the whole line of coast, were to have united (as well as they could) for the purpose of landing twenty or twenty-four thousand men in Ireland, and as near to Dublin as possible: preparations were continued for months, and amongst other things the pilots that had been got from Ireland were all in readiness.

The Irish regiment was also ordered to be ready to march, of which the celebrated Arthur O'Connor (of Maidstone memory) was at one time the colonel: but that rebel had carried over to France the same turbulent and factious disposition that made him become a traitor to his sovereign: he was consequently dismissed, and is looked upon with contempt by all his brother refugees; who, though they are enemies to Britain, do not carry matters so far as O'Connor, whose innate malignity, and perversion of disposition, are now perfectly known and appreciated.

The attack meditated on Copenhagen was known in France several weeks before it took place; and it was supposed the English ministers, though they had projected, would not be bold enough to execute it; and when it was done with such decision, promptitude, and success, the mortification and rage of Buonaparte were beyond description.

for our destruction, a measure admitted by the law of nations on the great scale, and of nature in the case of individuals. It was then right.

As to the miserable Walcheren business, the strange contest between two members of the cabinet exonerates his lordship, who, it seems, was all the time sitting on a barrel of gunpowder, on a mine ready to be sprung. The manly manner in which he got through an affair of honour, from which, in spite of all his unpopularity, he escaped with approbation, is a proof of the esteem in which his conduct was held on that occasion.

His lordship's knowledge of finance was well exemplified by his speeches on Lord Henry Petty's plan in 1806. His speeches are able, but want something of the animation and confidence necessary; and his lordship seems to feel that he is not the favourite of the people. His own countrymen, who in a great measure, conduct the diurnal press, have leagued against him: they are nearly all his opponents as to political matters, and those who are on the same side with himself, found it not at all inconvenient to make Lord C. the scape-goat both of Pitt and Perceval. He was the *Bouc d'Israel*, the sin-offering, and carried harmless the ministers of the day, as the electrical conductor keeps safe the

edifice to which it is attached. We repeat, that it is the bold, frank character of Lord Castlereagh, which prevents him from using that mantle or cloke to which many ministers owe their reputation.

We recommend to him, however, in future, not to be so bold; he is not in an open field of honour, amongst the knights of old, in the days of chivalry, but he is at a masquerade, where some wear arms, of their own, and others are provided with armour.

If serious times arrive in this new era, Lord C. will soon be better and more advantageously known. All liberal minded men should assist in vindicating a man whom the illiberal seem to have leagued to attack, and to whom they attribute actions of which the policy was at worst but doubtful, and in which he was only a participator.

His lordship's late speech in vindication of the treaty with Sweden, was a masterly piece of argument and eloquence: and his conduct on the Roman Catholic question has compelled even his enemies to admit him to be much more liberal minded than they have been hitherto willing to allow.

LORD VISCOUNT CATHCART.

THIS nobleman was bred to the bar in Scotland, but his father dying just as he was called to the exercise of his profession, on becoming a peer, he went into the army, and distinguished himself, though very young, in the American war.

He is reckoned an excellent cavalry officer, and had great merit in bringing to perfection some of the new manœuvres, and improving the cavalry exercise.

He was commander-in-chief of the land forces on the attack on Copenhagen, when the fleet of Denmark was brought away, to prevent it from being seized on by the French, and employed against this country. On that occasion Lord Cathcart acted with great moderation as a commander empowered to offer conditions; and with great firmness, courage, and conduct, when compelled to have recourse to force of arms.

There are vast numbers of persons who condemn, or affect to condemn, the attack on Copenhagen, many of whom, it is believed, do so to impress the

world with a high opinion of their nice honour. If it were not for some such reason those men would condescend to enter into the merits of the case; but that they refuse to do, contenting themselves with saying, that it was a dishonourable robbery*. Even if it had been a robbery, Lord Cathcart was not answerable for that; but he

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If the law of nations were the same as the laws that govern men in society, it would have been a robbery, but they are not; and the first duty of a nation is to attend to its safety. The Danish fleet was to have been seized by our enemies, and to be employed against us, which was a reason quite sufficient for seizing the fleet, for which fleet, as it happened, Denmark had not the smallest occasion. When all the nations of Europe had fleets, and a sort of balance of power was preserved, by each being ready to assist with its proportion of force, then a fleet was necessary to every nation; but under the then existing circumstances, it was of no utility to Denmark. It could not go to sea against England or France, nor was it the interest of Denmark to interfere in the war; so that a fleet was rather an inconvenient appendage to the state. England offered to take it to keep, for a time, in which case it would have been restored when circumstances altered; but the Danes, either from a point of honour, or from fear of Buonaparte, refused to give it up: there was no safe alternative but to seize it, to prevent it from being employed against us. This is the true state of the case, and it was very far from being a robbery.

certainly would have been highly blameable if he had not taken the most mild and moderate steps in executing such a disagreeable service.

His lordship was selected for the purpose of going to Russia, at the time that Buonaparte made his violent and mad attempt on that empire, by marching to Moscow; and perhaps it would have been difficult to find a more proper person. Such a mission required military knowledge, as well as that sort of talents which are necessary for a diplomatic character. Lord Cathcart unites, in no very common degree, the qualities necessary for such a mission, which is a very important one at this time, when the Emperor of Russia is standing forward so boldly and so honourably, to protect the continent of Europe from slavery.

The Emperor of Russia has nothing to fear for himself: the bravery of his people, the abilities of his generals, and his own honour and firmness, are all now known, and will deter the ambitious disturber of nations from making another attempt on so powerful and so distant an empire. Russia and Sweden excepted, the whole of the European continent is in great danger; and if the Emperor of the North withdraws his troops before France is reduced to moderation, Prussia must fall first, and

Austria afterwards. The moderation of the Emperor Francis, or rather his blameable partiality to Buonaparte, will go for nothing whenever the latter has it in his power to show his real disposition; for Buonaparte is not a man disposed to be satisfied with half measures. He will seek revenge, because the Emperor Francis did not at once draw the sword in his favour.

The interests of Europe are too complicated, and Buonaparte has too much arrogance, and too much power for any good or permanent arrangements to be made at present; but however matters may go, this country could scarcely have selected a better minister to represent her interests in Russia, than Lord Cathcart; and it is to be hoped that he will not be superseded by some person who, coming from a distance, knows little of the business; as was the case with the gallant Marquis of Wellington (then Sir Arthur Wellesley) at the battle of Vimiera.

EARL OF CHATHAM.

This nobleman was appointed, at one time, first lord of the admiralty, a place for which he was by no means qualified, either by his acquirements or his habits of business, and therefore much to the injury of the service, as the whole nation saw, when he was succeeded by Earl Spencer, than whom no man was ever better qualified.

He was master-general of the ordnance, a place for which he was in part qualified: as the master-general has nothing to do, but merely, from formality, to receive reports, Lord C. was perfectly qualified for that; but when the sedate, scientific engineers of Woolwich warren drew up their reports respecting the ranges of guns, or the qualities of any new warlike engine, for Lord Chatham, they must have possessed all the gravity of face for which they are so well known, not to have laughed when they recollected the attention of that scientific master-general the Duke of Richmond.

Unfortunately for himself, Lord Chatham accepted of the command of the Walcheren expedition, where

promptitude, exertion, and military experience and skill, were necessary. The disgrace of this expedition fell upon the earl, and the punishment upon his unfortunate countrymen, thousands of whom where thereby sacrificed.

At home we consoled ourselves with the repetition of the following lines, which were made on the delay arising from some mistake between the commander, and the admiral of the fleet—

" Lord Chatham with his sabre drawn,
' Stood *waiting* long for Admiral Strahan;
" And Strahan, wishing to be at 'em,
" Stood waiting too—for whom? for Chatham!

The great Lord Chatham, who was superior to common rules, left his chief inheritance (his genius) to his younger son, and only gave the title and the pension by which he had been disgraced, to the present earl.

Lord Chatham has the misfortune to be the son of the greatest statesman Britain has lately produced, and brother to the second in point of abilities; so that he is not to be let off himself with an ordinary share of talents.

An amiable nobleman, really beloved by all to whom he is known, and possessed of abilities that would be held in estimation in another man, he

does not receive justice, nor does he do justice to himself. He feels that he can neither equal his father nor his brother, and therefore he has never attempted to do so.

MRS. CLARKE.

THIS lady owes her celebrity to the intrigues of Colonel Wardle, and his associates: she was merely their tool, when the aim was to injure his Royal Highness the commander-in-chief. Being a woman of quick parts, ready apprehension, and one who knew the world well, she came off with flying colours; left her mean and selfish employer Wardle in the lurch, as he deserved to be; and, without actually stating what was false herself, having the address to make what was so, to pass with the house of commons, and the public, for truth.

The facility and address with which a woman, left alone, and without advisers, acquitted herself before the attorney-general, and the king's ministers, in the house of commons, excited a lively interest. It was impossible not to feel respect for the talents of

a female so situated, and so acquitting herself: this interest was not a little heightened by the contrast that the scene presented.

All the leading men of the nation, the king's ministers, with their legal aids, (and in short "with all appurtenance and means to boot)" to be held at bay by Mrs. Clarke, and all the good things that were said, proceeding from her, was an occurrence well calculated to amuse, and excite interest*. It seemed to be a trial of abilities, when it was no such thing: it seemed to be a very unnatural result from such a collision of persons, whereas, in reality, it was perfectly natural; but every one must allow that it was highly diverting, and the place where the scene was acted, contributed greatly to increase the effect of what was at last quite a theatrical exhibition†.

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* Nothing excites laughter so much as seeing grave men, with the appearance and apparel of wisdom, out-witted by a person of light conduct and behaviour, which indicate folly rather than wisdom. The chief entertainment received from the buffoons or fools formerly kept at courts, consisted in seeing pert, saucy, or smart replies made by a man in a motley dress, who represented ignorance or folly.

† Whenever a person, situated as Mrs. Clarke was, is happy in one

Mrs. Clarke's influence over the commander-in-chief was supposed to be very great, and the print-shops had been filled with caricatures to that effect long before the attack made on his Royal Highness by Colonel Wardle. His Royal Highness was wrong in not causing the authors of those libelous productions to be prosecuted; but when the attack was made, every thing shewed that Mrs. Clarke had no such interest, and had never supposed that she had it; and in reality, so far from the character of his Royal Highness suffering in the opinion of those who coolly considered the matter, by the investigation that took place, the obscure suspicions that had been excited, were entirely done away.

The levity of the British public was, however, seldom more conspicuous, and indeed that of the house of commons likewise, for every circumstance proved that Mrs. Clarke was a clever woman, who, profiting of her supposed influence, had given hopes

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sally, she takes courage, and her opponents become an awkward squad. A witness at the bar, by one smart reply, sometimes sets down the most brow-beating council in the kingdom. Those who try to support dignity are quite abashed and ashamed the moment that a person of light manners, and one who affects no dignity, excites a laugh at their expense.

and received money from many persons; but that so far from attempting to give any effect to her numerous promises, she, with great trouble, does appear to have obtained one or two small favours*. Let it boldly be asked—Is there a man in either house of parliament, that does not know that in every department favours are obtained through indirect influence? While the nature of man remains what it is, such will always be the case.

The insinuations of what took place when alone with his Royal Highness, relative to lists of promotion, were altogether fabulous; and indeed it was inexcusable for one moment to give credit to them. One of the most impudent of these was, that to some part of the bed was attached a written list of promotions solicited. Why was not some servant brought to prove the existence of such a list? Miss Taylor appeared to witness one short conversation: she remembered nothing but what just happened to answer the purpose of Mrs. Clarke and Wardle; but why was no proof given that this same little

* The ensigncy given to the young man about whom so much was said, was a well-judged act of good nature in the duke, who had often seen the young man; and the circumstances of his birth made it a very meritorious act, he being the son of an old officer.

school mistress did actually dine with the duke and Mrs. Clarke, for it never was proved that she ever was once in his Royal Highness's company? And last of all the note produced by Huxley Sandon bore evident marks of forgery; and if Taylor's evidence was true, the note must be forged; for the note implied that the duke was anxious to pacify Sandon, (very likely indeed!) whereas the school mistress says the duke had threatened to cut him up.

The trial with the upholsterer shewed an excellent and well-timed piece of address on the part of Mrs. Clarke. Wardle wished, evidently, to give great hopes of remuneration without intention to remunerate; and he thought he might, by lending his person, merely as a companion at the upholsterer's, thereby, without implicating himself, procure credit; but Mrs. Clarke and the upholsterer were aware of what might happen, and contrived to make him act so as to *be* implicated. This trial did great good; it developed all the underhand tricks that had been played off, and the connection between Mrs. Clarke and Wardle, when they declared there was none; it showed also that Wardle had the infamy to suborn an accuser; and that Mrs. Clarke was induced, by her necessities, to become his instrument.

Mrs. Clarke does not appear to be either a designing, a cunning, or a malicious woman; but to have an admirable talent at taking advantage of circumstances that occur, and address in playing her part far beyond what is common. She did not see the treasure she possessed in the letters in her hands, till the knowledge was in a manner forced upon her; but when she did see it, she turned it to the best advantage.

She does not appear to have laid any part of the plans that were formed, but she acted her part wonderfully well in all; to her quickness and address, and to accidental blunders made by Mr. Perceval, and the uproar that prevailed in the house, did Mr. Wardle owe a momentary triumph—a triumph, which to any honourable man must appear as a disgrace; it originated in a villanous intention, and was procured by deceit and fraud of the meanest and most contemptible description.

Such was the enthusiasm of the moment that Miss Taylor received a contribution of £2000, as an indemnity for her loss of character, by appearing in such company; that is to say, she got, like other actors, a sum of money for assuming a character, not for the loss of one, for that was lost long before; and the story of the school, which it was said to be

no longer in Miss Taylor's power to keep, was a mere invention.

Mrs. Clarke was certainly the least culpable of all those who were concerned in Wardle's attack on the duke, and she was by far the most able, and possessed of the greatest share of talents, not excepting even Lord Folkestone, that zealous and disinterested patriot.

LORD COCHRANE, M.P.

Amongst the naval commanders who are the pride and defence of the nation, and the terror of our enemies, no one of an equal number of years service, stands higher than his lordship, who to great intrepidity adds naval skill, and that sort of scientific ingenuity that seems hereditary in the family of Cochrane*.

In the attack on the French at Basque Roads, great skill, intrepidity, and an uncommon share of

* The Earl of Dundonald, his lordship's father, is one of the best chemists in England. His uncles are ingenious men, and indeed, even among the lower classes of the Cochranes, in Scotland, there is a distinguishing genius.

ingenuity were all united and displayed; and it is only to be lamented that his lordship's idea of a predatory war, a war of invasion from hovering squadrons, has not been adopted, and a squadron for that purpose placed under his command. It is evident that such a mode of warfare compels the enemy to be prepared on every part of the coast, so that the number of troops occupied, and the attention necessary, must be very great, though impossible to be calculated, as they must depend on particular circumstances.

Such a species of warfare discourages an enemy, and damps the spirit of the people attacked, by harassing them constantly, under circumstances where they have the disadvantage, and if conducted by a vigorous, active, and enterprising officer, like his lordship, must be peculiarly advantageous*.

In every respect his lordship is a true-spirited British naval officer. It is impossible not to be surprised, that with our immense fleets, with all the navies in Europe put in *hors du combat*, the Ameri-

* If the American coast were so harassed by a squadron under Lord Cochrane at this time, it might probably procure a peace in less than three months.

cans, with a most contemptible navy, composed only of a few frigates, have never met with a British ship of war but to conquer, (till very lately), and that under the most distressing circumstances.

Lord Cochrane, in politics, is as decided as he is in his naval character; he appears to have in view the redress of grievances, and removal of abuses; but as the tactics necessary for this sort of combat, are not naval tactics, he has not been very successful; for the truth is, that in a representative government, like ours, much of the evil originates in the natural corruption of man. Whatever minister has places and patronage, will have majorities, and he will employ those majorities to increase places and patronage. This is the great secret of the corruption of parliaments; for let men be chosen to represent others by general suffrage, by the present irregular plan, or by any other, still the majority of those who are chosen, when once they are in place, will act as their interest prompts them: all that we can expect is, that in matters where the interests of the country are vitally at stake, our representatives will act with patriotism; and bad as matters are, we find that they do so.

The whole country wishes to see Lord Cochrane employed in the command of a squadron; for as the

enemy is on the reserve, it requires such a man to contrive methods of bringing forth opportunities for the exertion of British naval skill and bravery*.

THOMAS CREEVY, ESQ. M.P.

This gentleman has been very active in parliamentary business; and has, in particular, paid much attention to East India affairs: he is a man of talents, solid sense, and industry, and is what may very properly be termed a very useful member of the house. He was a member of the board of controul for the affairs of India, during the short and ill-fated administration of Fox, Grey, and Grenville, and of course he still is in the interest of the scattered remnants of the party distinguished by the title of "All the Talents†."

* Lord Cochrane gained great honour by giving back the wealth taken on board of a Spanish prize, because it belonged to individuals returning to old Spain. He called the crew on deck, and proposed this generous sacrifice: the proposal was received by the British tars, with three cheers, in an instant.

† How the party came to get that title would be curious to inquire, were it not that it is given in derision. The term *sans culottes*, in

Mr. Creevy was lately fined for publishing his own speech in the house, though any newspaper reporter might have published that speech without being amenable to the law. This is one of the best and most luminous decisions in point of libelous matter that ever took place in a court of justice*, and shews

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France, was given just in the opposite way: the opposite party, by way of contempt, called the rabble *sans culottes*; but the rabble being at that time the sovereign rulers, converted it (in France) into a term of honour. The party did not absolutely say they had monopolized all the talents, but they accused their opponents of having none, which was a negative method of laying in an exclusive claim.

* Had a newspaper reporter given this speech in the usual course of his occupation to his employers, and had the proprietor inserted it in his paper, it would have been an ordinary transaction, which the house permits, and of which the house only could complain; but here a member, for private purposes, prints a speech that libels an individual, and though he was privileged in the house, yet, as publisher, he can neither plead the privilege of a member of parliament, nor his duty to the public as a reporter. If a man following legally, his occupation, injures another, it is quite a different thing from his wantonly, or interestedly, injuring him, although the quantum of injury may be the same in the one case as in the other. This decision is certainly a great victory to the public; for had it been other than it is, members of parliament might have libelled other men, without being punishable by law. A speech in the house would have served as the shield by which a libeller might protect himself.

that the true principle is at length nearly approached, in decisions in matters of libel, and that it is not the substance of the paper written or published, that determines whether or not it is a libel, but rather the circumstances under which it was published, and the motives of the publisher*.

JOHN WILSON CROKER, ESQ.

THE naval department of Great Britain is the most important in the country; as, on the superiority of our fleets, the safety of the country, as well as of its colonies and conquests, depend.

Notwithstanding that this is the case, those who manage the admiralty affairs are removed, as in other departments, according to political intrigue, political interest, or perhaps we may say chance; and thus it was that by way of shewing how much could be done in this sort of changing, the *(late)*

* For more of this see the portrait of Ellenborough.

present Earl of Chatham* was for a number of years first lord of the Admiralty, and even that did no material injury to our naval affairs.

The fact is that in this, as in other departments, the principal secretary, who is not so capriciously changed, has the great burthen on his shoulders, so that those who wonder that the changes are attended with no interruption of business, and that men who know nothing of naval affairs, or affairs of any sort, take the ostensible situation of first lord, are only wondering because they do not know the real secret.

Neither caprice, nor intrigue, nor any political conveniency, would be able to place a man as secretary to the Admiralty, who had not great abilities and industry; or if such a thing were possible, he could not remain in place a week.

Mr. Croker is the secretary, at a time when there is an immensity of detail, and of intricate detail. The

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* All the world knows that the present Earl of Chatham is called the *late* Earl of Chatham, from his attachment to his bed in the morning, and his club in the evening. The earl's father, who once made the enemies of Britain tremble, is known by the name of the *great* Earl of Chatham, that he may not be confounded with this *late* earl.

part of convoys is not the least difficult, and considering our situation, was never so well attended to, not even under Earl Spencer and Mr. Nepean, two men of first rate business abilities and indefatigable industry*.

To the situation Mr. Croker holds, which is a proof of talents and industry, we must add, that as a member of parliament his speeches are respectable, and sometimes very impressive†.

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* Mr. Croker was honoured with the abuse of Mrs. Clarke, who has made her boast of setting no value on truth, provided she can raise a laugh. All the sensible, as well as virtuous part of mankind, must consider the enmity of such a person as honourable rather than otherwise. Mr. Croker enjoys that honour, and has wisely taken no notice of the scurrility founded on mere imagination.

† Mr. Croker's description of the combat between the Shannon and Chesapeak frigates, on the coast of America, was very well drawn. His attack on Lord Cochrane, when he introduced that victory, was ready-minded, fair, and done with judgment.

SIR WILLIAM CURTIS.

The worthy alderman, or baronet, as he is generally called, is chiefly intituled to be considered as a political character, from the profound information he receives from his barber, whose opinions and intelligence, communicated to him in the morning, are conveyed to the house of commons in the evening, no doubt to the great information of our national representatives.

Sir William shews, in his own person, what sort of a character is best calculated for succeeding in London. With good natural sense, and a disposition to follow his object honestly, and strait forward, he has realized a great fortune, without being accused of any one act of dishonour.

As a public man he speaks a bold and plain language to his constituents, whom he will not flatter at the expense of truth, or obey at the expense of deviating from what he apprehends to be his duty.

Without any pretensions to the advantages of education, and without the least bashfulness on

account of his want of it, Sir William good naturedly joins in the laugh which his occasional blunders produce; but the laugh against him is never one of contempt, neither is it attended with any feelings of anger or ill-nature. The openness of his character, and his own good nature, are his protection against both.

Those men who pervert great talents to bad purposes, and who aim, by dishonest means, to gain money, which they do for the most part without success, might take an excellent lesson from Sir William Curtis, who, without underhand manœuvres, or any deep laid schemes, supports a princely establishment, increases in wealth, and obtains the good will, and good word of his fellow citizens.

EARL OF DARNLEY.

A PEER, who, whenever he interferes in public business, is known to speak the words of an honourable, honest man, who has a cultivated mind, and good understanding.

Lord Darnley is an independent character, who has never sought his own particular advantage; he has never either flattered, or violently opposed the minister of the day; but he has uniformly preserved that line of conduct which indicates the true friend of his country.

It is unfortunate, nevertheless, that such independent and upright characters, in general, want that attention and energy that are necessary to produce much real good. Lord Darnley does not take firm enough hold of a question, and does not persist in the manner that is necessary to obtain success; yet mostly all the members of both houses, who act on similar principles, act also in a similar manner*, notwithstanding the lessons of experience.

* This appears to be a necessary consequence of independence of

It would be well, and highly desirable, that there should be a coalition amongst such men as his lordship, for the purpose of keeping parties in check; but unfortunately such men are of too independent minds to enter into any stipulations, and therefore, acting individually and interruptedly, they effect nothing of importance*.

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spirit, and disinterestedness of disposition. We see many instances of men, who for public good would remove parish abuses, but the more constant efforts of the interested, triumph over them nine times in ten. It is so very seldom that any good results from a struggle between independence and interestedness, that there are numbers of persons of the best intentions, who will not even make an effort, but rather choose tamely to submit to abuses than to engage in a hopeless struggle for amelioration.

* Men who act without private ends, or view to gain, feel themselves always overpowered by the mercenary and selfish; and it was in allusion to this hopeless struggle that Mr. Pope said—

" Truths would'st thou teach, and save a sinking land,
" All hear, none aid you, and few understand."

EARL OF DERBY.

THIS noble lord was once one of the great supporters of the opposition, and still adheres to the party which was termed *Mr. Fox's party*.

When the failure of the French attempt to establish liberty took place; and when Mr. Burke, by his strong arguments, and fascinating eloquence, undeceived those who had admired the new system of government, and caused a separation amongst the whigs of England, the Earl of Derby, as well as some other noblemen of great fortune, took a middle line of conduct. It was scarcely to be expected that a man possessed of thirty or forty thousand a-year, would, in his cool senses, embrace a political faith that put the individual *sans-culotte*, the ragged vagabond, on an equality with himself: this was particularly unlikely, as there are at least twenty thousand poor men for one that is so rich. The Earl of Derby, therefore, did not go all the length that Charles Fox and some of his companions were inclined to go; neither did he adhere to Mr. Burke, the Duke of Portland, and those who openly opposed the new-fashioned political creed; and if it were not

for seeing him crowded into the caricatures, with other members of the opposition, we should be apt to think that he had quitted politics: and, sorry that such abilities should be lost, we would cry out—

"On, Stanley, on!
In the last words of Marmion*."

* The reader is requested not to think that this familiar apostrophe from a dying knight to the general-in-chief is from Marmion Travestie, for upon honour it is from the *real* Marmion, as sure as the water on the stage at Sadlers Wells, or that on the prince's table was *real water*. Not only the laconic address to Stanley is from the real poem, but the last line, (that rhimes so well), is from it too. There are, nevertheless, some antiquarians who think that the *beauty* of poetry, more than correct truth, has been attended to, for that Marmion *realy* said—

On, Stanley, on!
And leave to fate poor Marmion.

This is indeed more likely. If Stanley stopped to assist the bleeding hero, as he might possibly do, the address would be proper, and fitting a soldier; but if that was not so, when Stanley was killing the enemy as fast as he could, in short, as he was going on very well, the order, or request, was neither very becoming nor very necessary, according to modern ideas of propriety, and of military discipline. It was as if, in a poem on the battle of Vittoria, one were to read—

On, Wellesley, on!
Were the last words of Captain Con.

EARL OF DONOUGHMORE.

A NOBLEMAN of good abilities, and great loyalty, which have been proved on a number of occasions; and as he is a zealous friend and advocate for what is termed the catholic claims, that is a certain criterion for determining the general question of the loyalty of some of those who support that measure.

The advocates of the Roman Catholics are divided into three classes: those who expect that the granting what is requested will be really a good measure; that it is right in principle, and wise in policy; of this class is the noble earl. The second class appears to aim at something more that is meant than meets the ear; they know, and the unwise brethren amongst them have avowed it, that granting what is demanded will not satisfy the Catholics; and this is the chief circumstance that gives well-intentioned men cause to refuse what is demanded: it is asked under a false appearance, under the aspect of a satisfactory concession; whereas it is only meant as a scaling ladder, to seek something more important, that it is not yet thought prudent to mention. The third class of persons advocating the Catholic claims consists of men who have personal views joined with that numerous body of persons, who have at all

times been ready to foment disturbances, and increase discontents in Ireland.

It is a misfortune that the well-intentioned are at all times the dupes of the designing, who crowd into their company; into whose conduct if they would be at the pains to look attentively, they would soon discover marks of secret intentions. Under the portraits of men who have taken a more active and decided part in this question than the Earl of Donoughmore, we shall notice this question more at length; but it is clear, that the impatience to have an immediate decision manifested by some, in opposition to others, and the high language held on the audacious demand of what is termed the *Veto*, are marks of something more being aimed at than a fair liberty to enjoy, in peace and tranquillity, the Catholic mode of worship, which is pretended to be the object. A few years, at most, will remove several obstacles that now are in the way to granting the reasonable claims of the Catholics; and nothing but a most unaccountable and absurd impatience, or some hidden motives, can make any set of men insist on the immediate termination of a state of things that has so long existed, particularly as great ameliorations have already taken place.

To the good sense and good intention of Lord D. and such men, the country can alone look for an amicable adjustment of this important question.

ADMIRAL SIR JOHN DUCKWORTH.

A VERY brave and skilful officer, who has wisely contented himself with serving his country in his own profession, without interfering in politics.

Those officers of talents and genius, who become politicians and orators, are much mistaken. If they are to support the minister to obtain preferment, they are doing what is not necessary, as their talents would procure for them honourably, what they are intriguing to obtain.

If they are to oppose ministers, then they are destroying those prospects which, as professional men of abilities, they have a right to entertain. A seat in the house of commons is a mill-stone about the neck of an officer of merit; and we are therefore sorry to see such men as Sir Sydney Smith and Lord Cochrane mixing in politics; men who can so eminently distinguish themselves in their profession, and so greatly serve their country.

There is, in fact, something incompatible in military service and political duty in the house of commons; first, because the same man cannot be

on both services at once; and next, because there must be some animosity between him and ministers, if he is in opposition.

Officers of no abilities, and who can resolve to go with ministers through thick and thin, may certainly thereby obtain promotion; but such men as Sir John Duckworth have no occasion to employ such unfair and unbecoming expedients, which Sir John is too wise and independent to employ.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

PATRICK DUIGENAN, L. L. D. M. P.

This representative of Armagh, in Ireland, was one of the most zealous abettors of the union of that country with England; one of the most active instruments in bringing it about, and is now one of the most violent and active opposers of the Roman Catholic claims*, though he was once a Roman Catholic himself.

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* The manner in which the Roman Catholic claims have been urged, is in itself a reason for resisting them. The Catholics speak the language of masters; they tell England what they want, and

Much is to be said in favour of the union, which Irish impetuosity has condemned prematurely; and much is to be said against the manner in which the Roman Catholics lay their claims to an equality* with the protestant establishment: yet there is something that is highly displeasing in a man who so violently, and seemingly unfeelingly, takes the part against a majority of his countrymen. The native of Ireland, who can in a rough and unbending way set himself

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that they will be contented with nothing less: this is language not to be endured, and certainly not to be yielded to. To illustrate what is very important, with what is very farcical and trifling, but apt, and to the purpose, we may quote the words of the Domine Felix in the farce:—

When a husband once gives way,
To his wife's imperious sway,
For his small clothes, the next day,
He may go hoop and hollow.

* Dr. Duigenan having himself been a Roman Catholic, makes the opposition he gives more unseemly than it would otherwise be, although that very circumstance probably is the cause of his energy in opposing them: he may know their secret intentions, and their ultimate views; and, knowing those, may have good reason to act as he does. Undoubtedly he knows that a concession of all that is now demanded will only lead to further requisitions. This is a circumstance which the Catholics are not at the pains to conceal.

in opposition to the popular cause, may be right, but he cannot expect that we should admire his conduct. The prejudices of a whole country are to be resisted when wrong, but still they ought to be treated respectfully; and tenderly should we tread upon the errors of millions of our countrymen.

In all differences with the Irish people, it should be considered that the feelings called national feelings must operate; for though Ireland is a portion, and a most essential portion of the British empire, still Ireland is a country by itself, and the Irish people are a people by themselves: their prejudices, their feelings, and their regard for their country, ought to be taken into the account. This, however, Dr. Duigenan never seems to take, for a moment, into consideration.

Dr. Duigenan is probably right enough in his endeavours to resist the Catholics, knowing them as he must know them. It is in the manner, rather than in the intention, that he appears to be wrong.

The error that is most prevalent amongst men of education and good intention, at the present day, is a predilection for what are termed *liberal opinions.* Liberal opinions are certainly highly honourable to those who are possessed of them; but then they are

to be entertained with that moderation which is consistent with prudence; and in every case a distinction ought to be made between what a proposed measure is merely in itself, and what it is likely ultimately to lead to and produce.

The Roman Catholic faith is of that nature that it never changes imperceptibly. The dogmas of that church, unless altered in a great assembly of the pope, the cardinals, and dignified clergy, must remain unaltered: of those dogmas some that once led to the most intollerant proceedings against protestants, are at this day in their complete integrity. Those who speak of the toleration of the present church, compared with that of past times, only speak of *practice*, not of *principle*; and it is well known that practices, in point of toleration, are voluntary, not necessary.

The same persons who contend for the alteration of the laws for restraining Roman Catholics, and who speak of their altered mode of action, are great enemies to the feudal system, but surely without reflecting that the feudal system was more softened by the manners of the times, and by the practices of those who had power, than the Romish church has yet been*.

* The French revolutionists overturned the feudal system to the

Those persons were right who rose in opposition to feudal power, because, while the power remained, the practice could at any time be altered and the rigorous system be resumed; and so it is with the Romish church. Those who are protestants have therefore as good a right, at least, to look with jealousy on the Roman Catholics, as the friends of liberty had to be jealous of the power of feudal lords: we said as good, but the term was not sufficiently strong. They have a better right. The feudal lords only acted in consequence of what they conceived to be their interest, and what was protected by their power, but the Roman Catholics (till their dogmatical principles are reversed in a regular

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last vestige, and raised an outcry of the most violent nature, by recapitulating the horrible abuses of the dark ages; nobody then rose up to say, that because such extreme abuses had ceased, the system that admitted of them should be continued. Let any one read the speeches of the national representatives of France, on the 4th of August 1789, and he will abhor the rights of the feudal lords, as much as he will abhor the Catholic practices, when protestants were tied to the stake; but by no means let the argument of altered practices be extended in one case, and refused in the other. Let the Roman Catholics worship in their own way, but let them not insist upon their moderation, provided they had power: that would depend on circumstances.

manner) are not actuated by such considerations, but by others far more powerful: they are not guided by interest, which a man may forego if he will, they are actuated by religious principle, which a man is not at liberty to forego, but which he must implicitly obey.

Let us suppose that the Roman church were to resume its power, and that an intollerant pontiff were seated in the papal chair; that he were then to say, (and he might speak so with great plausibility and appearance of reason) "that the recent calamities of the Christian world have arisen from the relaxation of the discipline of the church, and its tolerant practices"—would not the inevitable consequence be that the same rigours would be reverted to that were in the days of Charles IX. of France, and of Louis XIV? How could there be any difference? Would not the Catholics of Ireland be then obliged to obey, or be expelled from the bosom of the mother church*?

* It would not be very difficult to prove that there was a considerable degree of connection between the relaxation of the church discipline and the French revolution; and it is certain that if ever the papal power is re-established, church discipline will be much more rigorously enforced; and let it not be forgotten that one part of the

This, it may be said, is hypothesis, and hypothesis contrary to probability. That it is hypothetical is true, and perhaps it is improbable, but it is not by any means impossible; and as to the degree of probability, that is not easily determined, for it depends entirely on circumstances.

But to leave hypothesis, in looking forward to what may take place, we shall consider what naturally must take place.

Equality in point of establishment is what is asked and insisted upon as a positive condition. Equality in religion is, in the first place, contrary to the very essence of every religion, which is supposed, by its followers, to be the best; therefore, whoever thinks the religion followed by others is equal to his own, has no religion. He may say that he has religion; and that it is liberality and indulgence towards others that would make him put them on an equality; but that is either a pretence, or self-deception. Every man that is sincere, be he right or be he wrong, must think himself right; and the Roman Catholics, to do them justice, openly tell us that they are right, and all others are wrong;

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discipline is intimately connected with intollerance towards protestants.

in this they are frank, fair, and open, and so far are to be praised*. They never can, in principle or thought, admit of equality, which, being contrary to every tenet of their faith, we ought to consider the same in our conduct with respect to them.

Supposing, for a moment, that it were possible to have equality (in point of liberty of rising to every office in the state), and in every respect except the temporalities of the church, would it not necessarily be insisted on that the Roman Catholic clergy should be paid in the same manner as those now on the establishment? And must not double tythes, and double revenues, be the consequence, or the abolition of all tythes, and all church revenues? This would

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* It is necessary, in arguing this matter, to recur often to what happened in France, because there the experiment of equality of religions was tried, and it not only failed, but was the cause of the abolition for a time of all religion: even the monster Robespierre found that it was necessary to restore national religion, and it was amongst the last of the actions of his life so to do. He imagined the ingenious device of burning atheism and the goddess of reason, in effigy, as his fellow revolutionists, two years before, had burned the pope; he had previously guilotined Hebert, and those who worshipped the goddess of nature, in the person of a naked prostitute, (who was exhibited on the altar of the metropolitan church of Notre Dame), and now he set atheism on fire in the garden of the palace.

not only be a natural but a necessary consequence; and one step further still we must look:—Would not dissenters of every denomination begin by seeking spiritual equality, and then imitate the Catholics with regard to the temporalities of the church. To support such a number of establishments being in every respect impossible, we must necessarily abolish all ecclesiastical revenues! We must be as the French were in the zenith of their liberal and philosophical career, a nation without any religion!

Such are the future occurrences of which the foundation would be laid by equality of rights, and it is against such that those who act with Dr. Duigenan are seeking to protect the nation. May success attend their endeavours, though the manner in which they proceed is neither becoming in itself, nor well conducted.

The great mass of the Irish population labour under very great inconveniences, and therefore, like all people under pain or difficulty, seek relief. It is given out that Catholic emancipation (which is itself a term of deception) will remedy every grievance, and set to right every wrong; it would do no such thing.—Why then are the people not told so? Why are not steps taken to remove their grievances, and rectify their wrongs? If that were done, instead of simply

resisting the claims, the claimants would separate, and seek comfort and ease in remedies not only more safe but more effectual.

Dr. Duigenan appears to be a man of principle, energy, and loyalty, and it is to be hoped he will so act as to protect the Protestant without offending the Catholic; and endeavour to improve the situation of his fellow countrymen by a mode that will at the same time augment the prosperity of every other part of the united kingdom.

The Irish are a generous people, and in the great civil war were remarkably loyal. Let their natural disposition be well directed, instead of being met and mortified by flat contradiction, and the united kingdom may stand against the united world.

May the British ministers and Irish patriots act on this plan, and then the Irish people will be contented and happy

LORD DUNDAS.

A TRUE model of a British peer; a patriot* without violence, and an oppositionist without rancour, or any of those tricks that captivate the vulgar, and obtain popularity, which have disgraced not a few of the leading whigs of the present day.

With the good sense and good intention that Lord Dundas is known to possess, it is a wonder of no common sort, that he has not seen through the errors of what is termed the party of Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox rendered himself so amiable, and so interesting to his personal friends, that they forgot, or

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* The term patriot was formerly very honourable, but when the character of a *sans-culotte* was raised to honour, that of a patriot sunk into disgrace. Modern patriots alone are thus sunk, for the word is one that has a meaning independent of times and particular circumstances; and it will be honourable when the demagogues who have usurped the name are dispersed by time, as the east wind scatters the locusts who devour the fruits of the land. It is of the permanent patriot, not of the evanescent one, that we speak when we mention Lord Dundas.

overlooked the errors of the politician; otherwise Lord D. must have seen, that, for an English whig, who took the revolution of 1688 for his guide, it was unpardonable to hold up the French constitution, of 1789 as a work of merit, and a glorious fabric. The two constitutions were in direct opposition, almost in every thing, except in what they professed to aim at, namely, the establishment of a free constitution: the means of obtaining this end were quite different; and before Mr. Fox passed the last great and famous eulogium on the French constitution, it had occasioned more misery, and more crimes than any error into which mankind ever fell*, at any former period.

It does not fall to the lot of man to be perfect, and therefore those persons who, like Lord D. have many virtues, and are moderate, are generally too easy, too forbearing, and too forgiving; they do not generally take a sufficient interest in what is going on. The virtuous Duc de la Rochefaucault was

* For this see the portrait of Lord Erskine, and the opinion of the Abbe Reynal, the elegant historian of the two Indies, one of the philosophers who helped to bring on the revolution. Nothing can be more severe! Nothing can be more true! Nothing can be more terrible!

a man of this sort, and he pardoned the errors of Condorcet, and his other friends, till they became complete revolutionists, and found it convenient to have the duke assassinated on his own estate*. This was one of the results of the structure that Mr. Fox admired, and which he admired long after that and a thousand other atrocities had arisen from it. It is to be hoped the good men amongst the old whigs, and Lord Dundas amongst others, will look into the revolutionary mirror, where they may see the prototypes of many of their companions.

* He was dragged from his carriage, in which his wife and daughter were, and murdered by his own tenants at the instigation of his former friends. The party of Condorcet was in power immediately after the 10th of August 1792. When the family of Louis XVI. were imprisoned, the duke was murdered, and such men as Clermont Tonnere Fell. It is perhaps one of the strongest marks of the danger of revolutions, and strongest proofs of the errors of the French, that we find Condorcet, one of the finest and most elegant scholars of the age, converted into the companion and captain of assassins and thieves. The assassination of the duke can be traced to Condorcet's party, and the atrocities of that party can be proved to have sprung from the constitution of 1789.

SIR DAVID DUNDAS.

This officer, who for a time was commander-in-chief, is distinguished for his attention to the duties and details of his profession. He is author of a book on military manœuvres, which is of great practical utility, and of high reputation; but he is not only author, he was personally instrumental in introducing several of those manœuvres, and no officer of rank is supposed to know the details of the army better.

When commander-in-chief, Sir David was as well liked, and gave as much satisfaction as, under the circumstances, was possible; but, having succeeded his Royal Highness the Duke of York, the idol of the army, who retired in consequence of the shameful intrigues of Colonel Wardle and his assistants, it was impossible for him to be, what may be termed, agreeable to the army; and if any officer under those great circumstances of disadvantage, could be less objectionable than another, that officer was Sir David Dundas.

LORD ELDON.

THE lord high chancellor of England has such a variety of very important functions to perform, that it requires no small degree of merit for him to acquit himself without committing great errors, and totally impossible for him to give general satisfaction.

The chancellor has first of all to preside and administer justice in the most important and intricate cases, without the assistance of a jury, which takes off the great weight and responsibility from the other English judges; he has, in addition to this difficulty, often to decide cases when there is no written law for his guidance, and therefore his court is termed a court of equity. The head of a man of abilities and legal knowledge, or the heart of a good conscientious man, cannot well be assigned a more severe task. If any thing were necessary to render the business still more difficult, it is its multiplicity, and the long period that has elapsed since many circumstances took place by which the decision must be guided. Lord Eldon feels strongly those diffi-

culties, for which he has no remedy but in immense labour, and indefatigable attention.

Those who form judgments without reflection, or who think lightly, say that Lord Eldon is too slow, and takes too much time over a cause; but even if that were true, it would be an honour to his lordship, though a misfortune to the country. This, however, is by no means the case, for Lord Eldon has a remarkable talent for distinguishing between points of importance, and points of no importance, as was proved by his conduct when at the bar, where he took on himself to alter the forms of practice, by the omission of certain habitual, but useless preambles, to which long custom had given a sanction.

As Lord Eldon labours incessantly, and as he does not occupy himself on the unimportant circumstances of a case, we must be allowed to differ in opinion with those who say that his lordship is tedious in his judgments. He may take longer time to make up his mind than many other men would do, but he is not accused of introducing what is unimportant; therefore, if he goes slower than some other chancellors, it must be attributed to his great desire to fulfil his duty the most conscientiously possible.

To increase the labour of the lord chancellor, he is, in virtue of his office, speaker of the house of

lords, which requires very punctual attendance. He is also a member of the cabinet, and therefore obliged to attend its meetings; so that, on the whole, he has to bear, as Cardinal Wolsey said, "A load would sink a navy," yet in all this does his lordship acquit himself with general approbation.

His decisions are always perspicuous, and occasionally luminous in a high degree; and were the nature of the court where he presides like that where Sir William Scott, his brother, is, perhaps he would shine as bright*; but in the court of chancery the occasions for shining are not frequent, nevertheless they sometimes occur, and when they have done so, he has greatly shone, as he has on some occasions in the house of lords, where either his office of speaker, or his connection with the subject, led him to interfere in the debate.

It is not here the place to enter into a discussion on the propriety or impropriety of uniting so many

* There is nothing in Grotius or Puffendorff, or the first writers on the law of nature and nations, equal either for elegance or precision, to some of the decisions of Sir William Scott, at the same time that his ideas are fully as profound, and there is great ingenuity frequently in his manner of investigating and attaining a true judgment from great intricacy of circumstances.

official duties in one person, as that national question is quite unconnected with the portrait of the noble and learned lord; but we cannot let pass the subject without adverting to some of the consequences.

Being a cabinet minister, Lord Eldon is said to have soon gained the confidence of his royal master, who is one of the most upright and conscientious men in his own dominions; and who was also a much better judge of the characters of men than is generally supposed; this gave occasion to various allegations which have been bandied about. Our business is to speak truth, (look at our motto, and put flattery out of the question), and therefore we must say, though the conduct of Earl Grey and Lord Grenville is not likely to gain by touching on the subject, yet, that the accusation against Lord Eldon of intriguing to turn them out, is quite unfounded.

There are two assertions relative to that mysterious affair. It was said by his Majesty's friends, that alterations were made in the despatches for Ireland, by the cabinet, and that when they were sent to his Majesty, at Windsor, for final approbation, the customary mark that indicated an alteration was omitted*. Of course his Majesty gave an implied

* The whole dispute was involved in mystery, and the Public

sanction to the contents, without examination. This must have taken place either by accident or design: if by accident, it was of all other moments the most extraordinary; besides, if it had been accident, regret would have been manifested by the ministers, and shame would have been the consequence, of so suspicious a circumstance. A *convenient and useful*

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could the less easily understand the real state of the matter, owing to being ignorant of the official formalities relative to despatches. The matter appeared, however, to be as follows—Every cabinet resolution is submitted to his Majesty for his approval or rejection, when he returns it either with or without alteration. It is then returned to the minister who sent it, and copied fairly to be once more submitted to his Majesty and despatched. If the minister returns it without any alteration, of course his Majesty has only to sanction it, and let it be sent off. It is merely a matter of form, and the reading of it again would be of no use. It sometimes, however, happens, that the cabinet ministers re-consider the subject, particularly if his Majesty has made any observations; and then, when returned to his Majesty, a particular mark is made, indicating that alterations have taken place: his Majesty of consequence reconsiders and examines the alterations. The Irish Catholic despatches were in this latter situation; an alteration had taken place, but when returned to his Majesty *no mark was made:* his Majesty could not suspect such a thing, and therefore gave his approbation, (in confidence), to what he did not intend. This is the manner in which the affair seems to have been managed.

accident, is always attended with suspicion. If, by design, ministers would be prepared to defend themselves: now, as they were so prepared, and did defend themselves, it is natural to suspect that they intended to deceive his Majesty. Many other collateral circumstances lead to the same conclusion, but the details of the business were rendered so intricate, that the public opinion was divided between the king and his ministers, and many persons confessed themselves unable to form a judgment.

Though persons best able to make an estimate from all circumstances that have transpired, as well as from the character of the parties, doubt whether there was any intention to deceive his Majesty, yet we shall leave that question at rest, and only maintain, that, whether by accident or design, his majesty was deceived; that is, he sent off despatches that had been altered without knowing it.

Now, it is said that Lord Eldon, like a true friend to his sovereign, as well as to the established church, waited on his Majesty, who, when aware of what had been done, sent for Lords Grey and Grenville; the result is known, and a change of ministers was the consequence. It is also known, that Lords Grey and Grenville acted a very strange part, and one that was far from frank, manly, and

open, though they had the boldness openly to accuse his Majesty of having changed his mind, and of having deceived them.

Nobody who knows the character of the parties, will for one moment put the words of the noble peers in competition with that of their sovereign, whose conduct was frank, and like that of a man of principle, who had escaped an error just before it was too late.

That men who dared accuse their sovereign should accuse Lord Eldon, his faithful servant, was a matter of course; but Lord E. certainly did what was right. He prevented his sovereign from being deceived in a case where his conscience was concerned, and that was of great consequence; it was certainly the act of a friend; and when it is considered that his successor, Lord Chancellor Erskine, the keeper of his Majesty's conscience for the time being, was also absent from the council, when the alterations were made*, it

* This circumstance, *accidental* also, perhaps, was not ever properly accounted for; and when such *accidents*, all in favour of one side, take place, they become very suspicious; they are at least questionable as to their fortuitousness; and one must be tempted to say, with poor Beverley, in the Gamester—"Ah! this looks like management!"

became almost a duty to forewarn his Majesty of what was about to happen, in consequence of what had already taken place.

The result of this information was so sudden and so fatal to the party in power, that undue influence was proclaimed, though nothing was more natural to expect than that his Majesty would feel alarmed, if not indignant, at ministers who had attempted clandestinely to trick him out of his assent to a measure that was known to be contrary to his conscience*, and which might have rendered him miserable through the remainder of his life.

The change which this information produced on his Majesty, is yet too recent not to be remembered; and it was highly creditable to Lord Eldon, though calumny immediately set to work, and charged his lordship with unfair and underhand means of producing it†, from which charges it is

* What means can a king have to guard against such proceedings in ministers? He could not, after that, have any confidence; and therefore his only safety, at best, must consist in employing ministers by whom such manœuvres are not likely to be practised.

† His lordship was accused of having given weight to the threats of Mr. Perceval, relative to the publication of what was termed the delicate investigation; and the facts on which the accusation seem

not necessary to clear his lordship, as the duplicity of Grey and Grenville, in the first part of the business, and their arrogance in arraigning his Majesty before parliament as it were, in the second, rendered their remaining in office impossible, even if they had stipulated never more to urge the granting the Catholic claims which they refused in positive terms to do.

The next question in which his lordship's conduct has been criticised, is in the conduct held with regard to the Princess of Wales; but, to avoid too often touching on the same subject, we must refer the reader to the portrait of the princess herself, where it comes in with greater propriety.

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founded are, first, that Mr. Perceval did get that investigation printed before he was minister, and that he paid money for suppressing it afterwards; that he was restored to administration with Lord Eldon and his other friends; but all those facts lose their weight as to the conclusion, the moment it is considered that not only a number of other facts render that improbable, but one fact renders it impossible. It is sufficient to prove that his Majesty offered to keep in the Grey and Grenville administration if he was insured not to be again importuned on the Roman Catholic question, which was refused: now his Majesty could not have made this offer if he had acted under the impression of fear arising from another affair.

His lordship may be said to be truly a man as to his feelings, for though free from all the vices and extravagancies of the times, he most generously, some years ago, assisted a chancery barrister, a man of merit, with two thousand pounds, to pay his debts, and this without security*. Of other lesser disinterested actions we have also heard. When a man, capable of such acts is accused of parsimony in his own expenditure, we think it is only increasing the merit of the deed.

All cases of bankrupts come under the lord high chancellor, and it may seem astonishing, that in a commercial nation, the first in the world for its laws and mercantile knowledge, there should be a possibility of such abuses existing in the matters of bankrupts, as are known and proved before his lordship, when petitions are presented: this astonishment must be the greater, that the commissioners are all gentlemen of education and honour. Yet though all this is so, the abuses in the cases of bankrupts are great beyond compre-

* We could add circumstances that are infinitely honourable to Lord Eldon in this business, but it is a subject on which we wish to touch lightly; as, though honourable to him whose bounty gave, and him to whose merit it was granted, it might hurt the feelings of both.

pension, much more beyond credibility. The reason is this, (at least in part):—There are now above two thousand bankruptcies in a year, and the list of commissioners is nearly the same as it was when there were not 500 in a year*. The same list will sometimes have eighteen meetings of creditors before it in one day, that is to say, in about three hours, without any separate rooms to meet in! The confusion of a retreating army after a battle; or of Bartholomew fair at a late hour in the evening, is scarcely greater than it is at Guildhall on Tuesdays and Saturdays, when the meetings are held. Such are physical causes of error; but then comes, in addition, a most unfortunate and most shameful practice. Wherever the bankrupt has secured a friendly solicitor, and gets friendly assignees, every thing goes easy, and the commissioners generally let matters pass, as all parties seem satisfied. When the contrary is the case, and the solicitor and assignees are severe on the bankrupt, the commissioners, being called on to exert their authority,

* About one hundred years ago, there were from thirty to forty bankrupts in a year; in 1750 about 500; and they have risen, till in 1811, they were 2500!!

are generally severe also. In the one case the bankrupt is represented as an honest man, in the other as a fraudulent trader, though it is often quite the reverse. The commissioners act on a wrong principle, but the confusion, the shortness of time, and the established practice, all combine to prevent them from discovering their mistake. If they were to scrutinize the conduct of the bankrupt who is kindly treated, it might perhaps be as well. It must be admitted that hurry, confusion, want of time for reflection, and the general practice, lead to those errors, and are some excuse for them: but there should be some punishment for the attorneys and assignees who connive at proceedings that are contrary to the true spirit of the bankrupt law: till there is such punishment, men transgress in hopes of gain, without any danger. Many of the late decisions of his lordship on bankrupt cases have been excellent, and have developed scenes of iniquity for which there is no adequate punishment; and until there is, such crimes will be committed.

Sir Samuel Romilly's bill will probably cure some of these evils; but more time and space, as well as a greater number of lists of commissioners, or more days attendance in the week, are necessary; and it

is full time for the credit of a commercial nation, as well as for the sake of justice, that it should be attended to and altered.

The late decisions in matters of bankruptcy, which are numerous and complicated, are paving the way to a better order of things, and will occasion the commissioners, and those who deal in bankruptcies, to be more cautious how they act than they have hitherto been*. It is impossible

* There are a great number of attorneys who might be called bankruptcy-hunters, with much more propriety, than undertakers are termed death-hunters. The poor undertaker only watches for deaths, he does not either assassinate, or become an accessory to murder. There are numbers of attorneys who, with the aid of certain tradesmen, their confederates, sue out commissions, and act as solicitors and assignees. It would be well to have a list of those who appear frequently in such affairs, for frequency is a proof of connivance. As the whole is managed by perjury, there would be strange havock in certain quarters if this list were made out, and the lord high chancellor would search into such practices. There are other cases where, by connivance, property is kept back from the creditors. In one particular case the property of a house, amounting to above £20,000, after a dividend of six shillings, and where the debts remaining to pay do not amount to £8000, has been kept back for ten years, and not a step has been taken to wind up the affair. One single estate that is worth above £12,000 to sell, and £400 a year

sufficiently to praise Lord Eldon for the labour he has exerted, and the talents he has displayed in these late cases of bankruptcy; but until the bankrupt law is brought to a more perfect state, neither talents nor industry, though directed by the best intention, can remove the great evil which augments with the wealth and commerce of the country.

The appointment of a vice chancellor will in future leave the lord high chancellor more leisure than hitherto; but if it is considered that the business of the chancellor in bankruptcies is about fifty times what it was a century ago, and double what it was twenty years ago, it must be evident, that two per-

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to let, has been not only left quite unproductive for fifteen years, but the tenant has brought the assignees into debt!

There are many cases of the same nature, though few so bad as the above. The difficulty of getting redress consists in a petition to the chancellor costing money. The money is in the hands of those who profit by the delay, and the creditors are too much tired out to combine and act together, and no one will act singly, for the benefit of all: besides, the solicitor and assignees cajole some, buy over others, and defy the remainder. A sort of supervisor, like those who watch over excisemen, would be very useful amongst assignees: he could report to the lord chancellor, and inquiry might ensue; for it is certain, that the solicitors and assignees, in many cases, appropriate the estate to themselves, and laugh at the creditors.

sons cannot be equal to all the details of the business that comes into the court of chancery, the delay of which is proverbial all over the kingdom.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH.

THE present race of men have only seen three lords chief justice, Earl Mansfield, Lord Kenyon, and Lord Ellenborough.

The talents of Lord Mansfield were various and great, and his acquirements by no means less varied or extensive. An accomplished courtier, an elegant and eloquent speaker, a man of wit, and one of the first scholars in the elegant walks of literature in his time, though that period was very productive of men who excelled in that species of learning termed the *belles lettres**.

* In his youth, William Murray (his name before he was made a peer) was a favourite of all the wits and poets of the day, and it is very probable that, had not his love of money equalled his love of

In point of legal knowledge Lord Mansfield was held, by those who were fascinated by the inexpressible charm of his eloquence, as one of the most learned and profound, but it is already more than suspected, that posterity will not acquiesce in the opinion. To the most prepossessing exterior his lordship united the most melodious voice, and the most correct taste, but he had the fault of wishing to shine where he ought to have been only anxious to inform and to guide: the consequences were more than inconvenient, they were very injurious to the cause of justice, so far as it is to be attained by the unbiassed judgment of a jury*. Before Lord Mans-

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the muses, and finally extinguished it, his lordship might have become one of the unfortunate men of letters who adorn and disgrace England, instead of rising to the highest rank amongst the fortunate men of the law, who are more likely to overwhelm than to adorn the kingdom. Sir Isaac Newton, the wonder of the world, and the ornament of the human race, was raised to the lowest rank of temporary title—a knight for life only; had he been a father, his son would have been plain Mr. Newton, whilst the son of Mr. Pratt, solicitor-general at the coronation, is now the most noble the Marquis of Camden.

* It was very natural that so accomplished and elegant a man should endeavour to shine, which he did constantly when on the bench, and every where except in the house with the great Lord Chatham, when he was glad to purchase his safety by his silence.

field had finished what is termed the summing up, those who attended the court could easily tell what verdict the jury would give in. The jury and spectators were all led away without knowing it, and from that arose part of the delusion of his lordship's contemporaries.

Lord Kenyon, who succeeded, was a man in many respects very different, but generally speaking a better chief justice*. He had neither the brilliant accomplishments, nor the vanity of his predecessor, and in his charge to the jury seemed only anxious to be impartial, and to inform, not to guide them.

The amateurs of trials at law, (for there are such in all great cities), the students, and the professional men who attend the courts, (and who guide the

* The desire of admiration naturally led Lord Mansfield to take one side of a question, that he might draw opinion along with him, so that the jury were only like twelve men in his suite. It is said that Lord Mansfield kept his place several years, in order to prevent Lord Kenyon from succeeding him, probably foreseeing that the contrast would terminate in dimming the lustre of his splendid reputation. It could not be that he dreaded that his successor would be a greater favourite in his day, but that it would in the end lead to a discussion respecting the dangerous brilliancy of one, and the sterling worth of the other.

public opinion in respect to a judge), finding that they were not any longer led away as by enchantment; finding that they retained their own opinion after the charge to the jury; and above all, finding that instead of the attendance at Westminster Hall being a luxurious treat, it became a dry piece of work, all united in making a comparison to the disadvantage of Lord Kenyon, who remained only anxious to do his duty, and see impartial justice administered.

Lord Kenyon was not a courtier, but he sat on the bench at the most perilous moment England ever saw, when the French revolution threatened to extend over every country in Europe. His lordship then shewed what it was to have an impartial and upright judge. Even the discontented abstained from blaming him, while the guilty felt the force of law, and the peace of the country was preserved till the storm was over.

As Lord Mansfield valued too much the opinion of the public, so Lord Kenyon valued it scarcely enough, and the public did not do him justice, though with one voice he was declared to be an honest upright man. It was with respect to legal knowledge, and the acute and discriminating talent

requisite for a judge, that the public did not do Lord Kenyon justice*. Time, that has lessened the fame of Lord Mansfield, has increased the reputation of Lord Kenyon; and the gradual effects of that trier of the merits of men is probably not yet near the ultimate extent of its operation†.

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* The law of libel had been the great touchstone of Lord Mansfield's abilities; but on an attentive comparison it will be found that Lord K. though with less art, and less parade, understood the subject better. The same may be said with respect to the law of patents for inventions; but of this more in another note.

† The subject of monopoly got Lord Kenyon many enemies amongst the writers of the present day. Adam Smith had said "that monopoly was as impossible as witchcraft," and that writer leads the fashion in opinion, on all subjects of political economy. Lord Kenyon, who paid the proper respect to the oaths of respectable witnesses, charged several juries by whom men accused of monopoly were found guilty. In fact his lordship avowed that he believed in the existence of monopoly; now here was theory against well attested fact. In Mr. Hume's Essay on Miracles, he says, that we ought to give credit to the best testimony, and that if even a miracle could be well attested by a number of credible witnesses, independent and unconnected, he would believe that miracle, as the concurrence of a number of witnesses, unconnected and independent, in the support of any falsehood, would itself be a very great miracle. Those who attacked Lord Kenyon on this subject, did not probably remember what Mr. Hume had said, else they would not have spoken

Lord Ellenborough is admitted by all to be as unbiassed a judge as Lord Kenyon was, while he has much more dignity, a very essential requisite in a judge, and at the same time has a species of eloquence much more suited to the ends of justice than that of Lord Mansfield.

Lord Ellenborough has done more than either of his predecessors towards bringing the law of libel to a perfect state, and though it may be said, that in the progress of things every law must be brought to greater perfection by degrees, yet the observer is to mark those degrees, and in so doing, great praise seems due to Lord Ellenborough, who has aimed at attaining a principle by which decisions may in some degree be

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quite so lightly of him. To find a living toad in the heart of a large stone, seemed at first contrary to nature, and was discredited; so was the fall of large stones in the fields, far from all buildings; yet concurrent and unconnected testimony have removed all doubts on both subjects, though they appear to be contrary to the laws of nature. Lord Mansfield himself had a high opinion of testimony on oath, and one day a witness being very positive to a fact, his lordship asked, "Pray Sir, and how do you know this? Do you know it of your own knowledge?" "No," said the witness, "but I am certain, for I had it from a ghost." "Very well," said Lord M. "Let the ghost be brought before me and sworn, and I shall then give credit to his testimony."

guided*, for he at last seems to be very nearly obtaining his object.

The law respecting patents for inventions has also been put in force (according to its true meaning and intention)†, better under Lord Ellenborough

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* For this subject see the portrait of Sir William Garrow, his Majesty's attorney-general.

† The intention of a patent is, by giving an exclusive privilege for a limited time, to the inventor, to enable him to indemnify himself, and procure remuneration for the service he does in producing a new invention. No principle can be more wise, or more equitable. In the first place it gives encouragement to inventors, and in the second proportions the reward to the service. This patent or privilege is not a reward for ingenuity or invention, but payment for the advantage that arises from the application of the invention, to the public. Till lately this principle was not understood in our courts; and a patent for an invention was liable to be overturned if another person could prove that he had privately invented the same thing. This occasioned many cases of great injustice. Argand, the inventor of the lamps that have a current of air in the centre, and a glass chimney, lost his patent because it was proved that privately, and on one occasion, but long previous to Argand, a man had made a trial of a lamp or candle, with a current of air in the centre. The person who made the first attempt, and did not succeed, might have great merit, but he had done no public service. Argand might or might not have merit, but he had introduced a very useful invention, and was entitled to reward according to the true intent and meaning of the act, and so it would now be

than any other chief justice, although it is no new law, and although previously it might have been perfectly well understood.

In England the practice of Westminster-hall is of higher importance than the law practice in any

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determined, were the cause to be tried at this time. The country may congratulate itself on this change; first, because it is a deviation from the blind and injurious mode of being guided by precedent; and second, that it shews a disposition, as well as abilities, to bring courts to be governed by the spirit of an act, and not by the words. The affidavit that is required of an inventor, when he solicits a patent, was what led to the former erroneous mode of judging. The person who solicits a patent swears to his being the first inventor, to the best of his belief: it thereby appears on the face of the patent, that he loses his right if another has been before him. If, however, such really were the case, a man might invent and let lie dormant the most useful things, at the same time that, like Argand the introducer of the lamp, no one would be safe in expending money on a new invention, as some abortive schemer might come in and prove priority; for there are few inventions that can be brought to perfection without expense and loss of time, which a patent only can reimburse. This amelioration of law-practice is a great advantage: for it is to the inventions brought to perfection under the law of patents that Britain owes its chief commercial wealth. Mr. Watt's steam-engine, and Mr. Arkwright's spinning machine, are two wonderful examples of what patents enable men to do. Genius makes an inventor, but protection and encouragement are necessary to bring an invention to perfection.

other country, a great error or absurdity having crept into the administration of justice. It has become a practice to look back to former cases, and former decisions, similar to that about to be decided, and to be guided by the precedent. This is in the first place, proceeding on a wrong principle, in as much as it takes it for granted that the former decision must be right, a thing indeed possible and probable, but by no means certain or necessary. The consequence of this is, that precedent constitutes law with respect to all the minor circumstances of a case, which leads to considerable difficulties in the administration of justice, and is contrary to the constitutional rights of the subject, which require that men should be governed by laws made by king, lords, and commons, contained in written statutes, which are presumed to be known, or at any rate which every one has the power of knowing. If, however, the interpretation of the law is to depend on former judgments in similar cases, or if future judgments are to be determined by the cases of the present day, what is this but the courts of justice building a structure of their own, on the foundation of acts of parliament?

One most obvious evil arising from this practice is, that it is not enough to know the law as written

and promulgated, we ought to know all the decisions of the judges, as on those depends the interpretation of the law.

Lord Ellenborough was much censured by those who blame all the measures of government for accepting of a seat in the cabinet. The outcry would have been much greater had it not been that it was during the administration of Mr. Fox, and those men who by way of pre-eminence laid claim to a more than ordinary portion of talents and public virtue: men who had told the world that they had a particular regard for the liberties of the people, and who had for many years been calling out to restore the constitution to its pristine purity.

That Lord Ellenborough was not censured, much more severely, was owing to the above circumstance, and not to the true nature of the case. Nothing can be wiser, we had almost said more necessary, than to have the lord chief justice in the cabinet; and the advantages far overbalance any danger that is to be apprehended. It is not, however, necessary to vindicate that measure here; it is sufficient to state that Lord Ellenborough did not imitate Lord Mansfield by becoming a complete courtier, and by sinking the judge in the statesman, (which was indeed a misfortune to be carefully avoided) but he

gave his time, attention, and talents, to his judicial duties, so that even those who speculated on the evils of a lord chief justice having a seat in the cabinet, did not find any room for complaint. The grievance existed only in theory, and evaporated in premature declamation, which ended when it was discovered that the danger was imaginary.

It is much to the honour of Lord Ellenborough, that he has not, like his predecessors, given any decided opposition to the relief of insolvent debtors. It is much to his credit, that it was during his presiding as chief justice, that a permanent insolvent act, as it is termed, took place, by which perpetual imprisonment for debt is no longer tolerated by the law of England*. One man cannot now condemn

* That a law so absurd, and at the same time so unjust, should exist amongst an enlightened people to so late a period, will be at some future day a matter of wonder; particularly as in Scotland, a country the natives of which are sufficiently tenacious of their rights and properties, they pursue a much more merciful, liberal, and wise plan. By a law called the *Cessio Bonorum*, or Delivery of Property, a debtor who gives up his all can obtain personal liberty in Scotland, where imprisonment for debt was considered, as it ought to be, a means of recovering all that could be recovered, but not as a measure of punishment.

In England it seems to have been the chief object to punish the

another and his family to misery and want, merely because he owes a few pounds, which misfortune has deprived him of the ability to pay†.

The English character has many peculiarities, and it is none of the least, that, though the most jealous of their liberties of any people on earth, when the government is in question, they are the most tame and submissive, when the oppression is to come from their fellow-citizens. In no country

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unfortunate man, and that with a heavy hand. There was no term assigned to the loss of liberty. The duration of imprisonment depended entirely on the will of the creditor: so that a man who had the misfortune of incurring a small debt that he could not pay, might be punished far more severely than a transported felon. The felon is clothed and fed—the debtor is dieted on bread and water, which is the regimen prescribed (as a mark of peculiar severity) for murderers after their conviction and order for execution! The term of the felon's punishment is fixed; it may be shortened, but it cannot be prolonged. The natural term of the imprisonment of an insolvent debtor has hitherto been his departure for the other world.

† 1st. The new law will prevent facility of obtaining credit by unworthy persons. 2d. It will render the creditor reasonable. 3d. It will prevent the great impositions practiced by bailiffs and attorneys time after time. And lastly. It will prevent a man from falling a complete victim to a debt, whether arising from imprudence, misfortune, or extravagance. *It will prevent much evil to individuals, and will be a great benefit to the country.

are there so many prisoners as in England, and, like men equally void of common sense and common humanity, we seem to look upon the liability of being imprisoned for life as compensated by the power of imprisoning some one else in the same way. It is true, there is some reciprocity in this business; but it is one in which a good man would not indulge, and which even to a bad one is no compensation.

As it is to the benign influence of Christianity that mankind owe the abolition of slavery, as well as that equality of rights of which we are justly so proud and so tenacious, let us hope that the same mild spirit will banish for ever that savage and unjust law, through the influence of which a savage spirit was encouraged in this, that prevails in no other country. The language of the lower class of creditors was frequently, that their debtors "should lie and rot in jail;" and the law enabled them to put the inhuman threat in execution, till the recent change took place.

Free even to insolence towards our king, we have hitherto been slaves to each other; and instead of one bastile belonging to the sovereign, we had hundreds *pro bono publico*—that is, at the service of every petty tyrant who had an army of attorneys and bailiffs always ready at his command! Such are

the contradictions in the human character. Such are the effects of laws, manners, and example.

Next to the honour of introducing the bill, (as Lord Redesdale did), is that of Lord Ellenborough; and it is to be hoped that he will exert his talents and his influence in rendering it more perfect than it now is: for, though this is not like the abolition of the slave trade, a question of party, though it has been carried in the fair unostentatious manner that such measures should be carried, yet it is a measure of not less importance, nor less nearly connected with humanity and justice.

On a general view of the administration of justice in this country, the present moment will appear to the greatest advantage. Lord Ellenborough is the third chief justice since judges were appointed for life; and therefore we have only compared him with those other two, who acted under similar circumstances with himself.

LORD ERSKINE.

THE abilities of this nobleman, when a barrister, and the reputation he then acquired, are well and generally known; but it has been generally supposed and propogated with considerable industry, that his talents were more brilliant than solid, and that he was more eloquent than profound. In short, it has been said that he trusted to his wit and his abilities for success, but that he was not a sound lawyer.

The very contrary of this, however, was the case. No lawyer ever studied closer, or more assiduously, although, being a man of genius, the application that he made of his talents was not in that formal stiff way, that is often considered as a mark of deep study, and attentive research.

Mr. Erskine's pleadings were easy and elegant, and having little appearance of labour, were supposed to be the pleadings of a man who did not labour much; but in stating the contrary to have been the case, it may be said that it is necessary to give a proof for what is so opposite to the generally received opinion.

Were a barrister to declaim merely for the entertainment of mankind, eloquence and brilliant abilities would be sufficient; but a counsel at the bar is like a general in the day of battle; he is opposed to other counsel, besides being under the eye of the judge: if, therefore, he were not a sound lawyer, his brilliant talents would only lead him to expose himself, and ruin his clients. Mr. Erskine had as much practice as any barrister ever had, and was very successful for his clients, and during his long practice, he was never once accused of ignorance of the law, a thing that must have happened five hundred times, at least, had his legal knowledge not been equal to his natural abilities.

Lord Erskine was an admirer of the French revolution, which is only to be accounted for by his bias to Mr. Fox's party, as his better judgment might have shewn him the inconsistency, contradiction in principle, and wickedness of the early revolutionists*. He might have seen, and he ought

* There is not, perhaps, a more singular feature attendant on the revolutionists who sought liberty and equality, and who pretended to respect human nature in a superior degree, and preached up the rights of man, than this, that the same men were generally enemies to the Christian religion, and that most part of the speculators on

to have seen, that while they aimed at perfection in government, they laboured hard to degrade indivi-

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the freedom of mankind, are so to this day. The self-sufficiency and arrogance of the new philosophers were great without example, and it is no small reproach to them, as men pretending to superior information, that they did not know that it is *to the spirit of the Christian religion alone, that men owe any sort of equality.* It is to the Christian religion that mankind owe the abolition of slavery, that total destruction of the rights of man; and wherever the Christian religion has spread its benign influence, men have, as it were, risen to the rank of men: no slavery, no degradation by different casts, wherever Christianity extended. Besides the thousands of proofs in individual instances, and besides the general fact of the equality of man, (as man), owing almost every right to the Christian religion, there is an express decree of the third Lateran council, under Pope Alexander III. declaring that all *Christians* ought to be exempted from slavery (Henault Hist. Chron. 1. 195.) There was also a law made in Sweden, about the middle of the 13th century, known by the name of King Birger's law, by which the sale of slaves was forbidden, expressly on account of the injustice of such a practice, *amongst men whom Christ made free at the price of his blood.* Commanded to consider all men as brethren, it was not necessary to be endued with great powers of reasoning to discover that slavery was incompatible with such a doctrine, though it was long before religious principle could eradicate the influence of private interest, and abolish the practice. But it was not merely by the abolition of slavery that the Christian religion improved the tempo-

dual character; to destroy morals, and corrupt manners, which was undermining the very fabric

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ral situation of men, for, to it we also owe, in a great measure, the fall of the feudal system, which derived its existence from that spirit of revenge and bloodshed which made the poor seek protection from the feudal lords, in return for which they became abettors in all their quarrels with each other. This was a state of things incompatible with men professing the religion of Christ; consequently, about the end of the 10th century, a regulation called—The truce of the Lord, was promulgated, commanding men to lay aside their animosities, on pain of incurring the wrath of the Almighty. This truce, said to have been brought in writing from heaven by an angel, to the Bishop of Aquitaine, was followed by a general peace for several years, and it was afterwards agreed upon, that Christians should not attack one another from the Thursday evening of one week till the Monday of the following, on account of the resurrection of our Lord.

To the present day, wherever Christianity has not penetrated, the oppressed state of mankind is evident by the servile condition of the greater number; and it is certainly no proof of the knowledge of history possessed by the political reformers of mankind that they were ignorant of these facts, for had they not been so, it is scarcely possible that those who were so enthusiastically devoted to the rights of man, should have been desirous of the destruction of the Christian religion, as most of the reformers in France were. If this conduct is a proof of ignorance of history, which ill agreed with the high opinion those democratic leaders had of themselves, it is not

they were attempting to raise. Mr. Erskine had a mind of that class that left him no excuse for

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a much less proof of the negligence, indifference, or ignorance of those who wished to defend the Christian religion, and the ancient order of things. By the ancient order of things is not meant any particular form of government, but all governments connected with proper subordination, and gradation of ranks, in contra-distinction to governments founded on the absurd basis of what has been termed the rights of man, and equality of conditions.

Those who, *bona fide*, wish for the welfare and happiness of mankind, should be very cautious how they listen to men whose errors have been so great; who with one hand tried to erect a new fabric for the happiness of man, by establishing equality, whilst with the other hand, they were occupied in destroying the very foundation upon which all equality stood. Such was the absurdity of the leaders of the revolution, from which few of the writers in favour of the French system, such as it was during the first years of the revolution, are exempted; and the most singular part of the business is, that their opponents never discovered their error, or at least were never at the pains to point it out.

One of the most able, and most successful supporters of the revolution, was M. Volney, who, in his Ruins of Empires, (a sort of political reverie) attacks the Christian faith in the following manner. Volney having allegorically represented the Genius of Truth addressing the whole of mankind, assembled on an immense plain, makes the Genius (that is Volney himself) ask triumphantly —"If gold is heavier than brass?" "Yes," (resounds from all quarters)

falling into an error which is to be pardoned in ordinary men, such as those who conducted clubs

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"gold is heavier than brass." The Genius then, with a still higher tone of triumph asks, "Which is the true religion?" Here a thousand voices call out at once, "The Christian!" "The Mahommedan!" "The Hindoo," &c. and all the sectaries put in claims of preference at the same instant. The conclusion is worthy of a revolutionary sage—"Gold," says the Genius, "is really heavier than brass, and therefore you all agree. But, as to religions you differ, there is then no decided preference; and as each claims preference, all are in error; all are cheats." This is, however, a proof either of the ignorance or bad intention of M. Volney, (a man held in high esteem), and also of the facility with which men with good intentions may be led to form wrong conclusions!

In the treatise on the Perspective of the Human Mind, of which we have seen a copy, without name of author or publisher, there is a most victorious exposure of this philosophical jargon—this sophistical deception. It is as follows: "It would neither have required much acuteness nor genius in M. Volney, to have perceived, that instead of estimating the religions from those answers, they only proved that the minds from which the answers proceeded were incapable of forming a true judgment on the subject of religion. Even supposing all religions to have been equal, still every one who answered was wrong, because he preferred what deserved no preference. But to come directly to the point: if the genius of truth had asked whether gold or brass was most useful, he would have had more than one answer to the question, because the degree of utility

or spouting societies: he and his friend Mr. Fox were not to be excused; and the less so, that their

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depends upon circumstances, and all minds would not come to one conclusion on that subject; but it does not therefore follow that gold and brass are equally useful, or that neither are of any utility. Again let us suppose, that instead of the question about religion, the Genius of Truth had asked, "Which of the French generals was the most able commander?" Would not the answers have been various? Had he asked, "Which country on earth was the finest?" "Which people the most enlightened?" Would it be fair from these to conclude, that none of the generals had any abilities; or that they were all equally able?—Or, that all countries were equally good, and all people equally enlightened?—Or, what would be still more absurd; to conclude, that no country was good for any thing, nor any people possessed of any knowledge? Such conclusions, however, would have been just as reasonable as that of M. Volney. The difference is, that in one case the absurdity is quite evident, in the other it is hidden, and disguised by sophistry and the appearance of the question.

"The most ignorant must see, that neither generals nor countries, nor people, could be equal in qualities, nor totally devoid of the qualities inquired into: the variety of opinions did not then arise from what Volney inferred. Why then, it may be asked, do not people see through the absurdity of Volney's conclusion? Why, we ask in return, do those who want to mislead mankind fortify themselves by constantly discussing questions which cannot receive an answer that may be supported by proofs, and which unfortunately cannot

mutual friend and companion, Mr. Burke, did all that he could to open their eyes to the error into which they fell.

Mr. Erskine's name is always coupled, in drinking toasts at public meetings, with *the Trial by Jury*. A stranger would suppose that his lordship had invented juries, as Bishop Blaze is said to have invented wool-combing; but those who have read the history of England, know that the most honourable decisions of juries were before his lordship was born. In difficult and dangerous times British juries have done their duty, at the risk of their persons, but in Lord Erskine's time there has been no personal danger to encounter, and there was no particular merit in doing their duty, nor in his pleading boldly before them.

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be positively affirmed or denied; the end of which is doubt, irresolution, scepticism, and a rejection of the whole?"

If the admirers of revolutionary men are mortified to find M. Volney thus treated, let them console themselves with reflecting, that, from being a conceited free-thinking philosopher, he has become a servile senator, bending at the throne of Buonaparte; he must indulge in no more philippics or allegories, tending to shew that all men, and all religions, are equal.

The politicians whom Lord Erskine professionally protected, always talked of bringing back the constitution to its *original purity*, just as if it had been at any former time more pure than since his present Majesty mounted the throne, and appointed the judges for life, thereby giving up all undue influence over them, such as all of his predecessors had enjoyed.

When we hear ignorant, or half informed men, speaking of an original purity that never existed, and when the phrase is repeated from man to man, we are not surprised; or when a leader of the multitude, like Sir Francis Burdett, speaks about original purity, we can conceive that it is owing to not knowing better, or at least to want of reflection; but such errors cannot be passed over in a man like Lord Erskine.

When lord high chancellor of England, Lord Erskine gave great satisfaction, and despatched business with unusual quickness, and it has been said was not at all concerned in the intrigue about the Roman Catholic question, by which Lords Grey and Grenville contrived to get themselves and their colleagues turned out of office, a transaction attended with very suspicious circumstances, and one which

rendered the two noble lords unpopular in no common degree.

When Mr. Fox took the fancy (for we cannot call it any thing else) of going over to France, to bow before Buonaparte, Mr. Erskine went also, and had the honour of looking at the first consul, who inquired if he spoke French, and then took a pinch of snuff.

Nothing, perhaps, was ever so absurd as to see the assertors of liberty, *(par excellence)*, the grand protectors of the press, crowding the anti-chamber of despotism, in France, and contending for precedence in entering to the consular presence, to bend before the first and greatest enemy of liberty that ever polluted the earth.

That Buonaparte is not absolutely the worst of conquerors is true, and has been said in his portrait; but certainly never did any man lay so many plans to crush every species of freedom as he has done; and therefore his title to adoration from the apostles of liberty, was more than equivocal, and it is not greatly to the credit of the discernment of those who followed in the suite of Mr. Fox, that they did not see how much they were out of their proper place when bending to Buonaparte.

Any one who reads Mr. Trotter's description of the introduction and audience given by the French Consul, and who knows any thing of the French character, will easily see that the English visitors were considered merely as curious animals, admitted in order to be viewed, and examined as so many oddities*, of which his lordship was one. It is so strange to see men of honour and probity overlooking all the wickedness, and impudent tricks of the French, who unblushingly commit every crime, that when such men as Lord Erskine join in the deception, it is difficult to say whether it is most to be lamented or condemned. When a man whose life has been devoted to the study of justice, and the preservation of liberty, and, above all, to the freedom of the press, is seen gravely and seriously paying homage to a tyrant who labours to expel justice from the face of the earth; who tramples on the

* Mr. Fox said that he thought it was an honour to be erased from the list of privy councillors of the king of England; and by his actions he shewed himself proud to bend to Buonaparte. The same gentleman highly admired the French constitution of 1789. In short, whether republican, consular, or imperial, he admired what arose in France, but he disliked whatever was allied to royalty in England.

liberties of all whom, by force or fraud, he can touch, and who is the most bitter and avowed enemy of the press that ever existed; what but wonder, mixed with anger, and some portion of contempt, can be the consequence? Can Lord Erskine, who has so often defended others, defend himself in this case? We have only to add, that Lord Erskine, after his return, expressed his admiration of the abilities and power of Buonaparte; in short, he did every thing but praise him for his virtue*.

The best excuse for Lord Erskine is, that he went as a follower of Mr. Fox who had the keeping of his political conscience; and that such being the case, he in fact was not answerable for what he did, as no party-man is permitted, on any condition, to examine into the conduct of his leader, or differ from him, on pain of being called a turn-coat, and twenty

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* When Du Roc made his last dying speech to Buonaparte, who came to bid him farewel, he said, amongst other things, that he was an *honest man;* Buonaparte, willing to play the hypocrite, told him "there was another world;" and thus the two robbers of mankind, and enemies of religion and of every thing good, mutually cajoled each other, with a design, no doubt, of the world giving them some credit for sincerity.

opprobrious epithets, such as were lavished on the great Mr. Burke, the Duke of Portland, and all those old whigs who would not, at Mr. Fox's command, worship the revolutionists of 1789. It is true that Buonaparte cannonaded all those who supported the first system of French liberty, and therefore it might be asked, how could the admirer of the constitution of 1789 pay homage to Buonaparte? It would have been very impertinent in Mr. Erskine to have asked that question of his leader, and it is now too late for any one else to ask it; Mr. Fox is gone to the world of shades, and has only left with us the remembrance of his amiable qualities as a private man, and his unconquerable and obstinate perseverance in opposing the British plans of government, such as were pursued during his life-time.

M. Raynal, one of those philosophers and men of letters who had a share in preparing, by his writings, the way for the French revolution, without knowing the evil he was about to produce, expresses himself thus in 1793, after he had witnessed it.

"The chimera of equality is the most dangerous that can enter into the mind of man; to inculcate that system on the multitude, is not teaching them

their rights, it is inviting them to murder and pillage: it is to change domestic animals into ferocious beasts of prey. In the name of that frightful equality it was that I saw hords of robbers and murderers, such as hell might produce, after having overturned, by a species of infernal magic, the finest empire in the world, in eighteen months, defiling it with such crimes as the sun never before shone upon: demolishing the monuments of their former glory, and making the progress of arts and sciences retrograde for many ages: declaring the most atrocious war on their fellow citizens, by beheading, shooting, and drowning them by thousands, after making them suffer unexampled torture."

Thus did Raynal express himself of the result of the constitution of 1789, which Mr. Fox long after maintained was the most glorious fabric of human wisdom; yet it is probable that, before the experiment, Raynal and Fox would have been nearly of one opinion. What caused such an aberration in the philosophical abbe? Was he a turn-coat like Mr. Burke? Why did he not obstinately persist in his theories about equal rights, and universal suffrage, like Major Cartwright and the reformers? The answer is plain—He was too near to shut his eyes

and his ears to what had happened, and our worthy theoretical reformers are at a sufficient distance to be blind and deaf to experience, in order to maintain their former opinions.

EARL FITZWILLIAM.

A NOBLEMAN of the first rank, fortune, and family-connections in the kingdom; one also who supports that dignity in a becoming manner, and who, in private life, is amiable, generous, and humane*.

* When his eldest son Lord Milton was about eighteen years of age, he was allowed £500 a-year for his pocket expences; but his benevolence out-run his means, and one year, in the middle of winter, he went to his father's steward to borrow £10. The steward was afraid to lend the money unknown to the father, least he might be blamed; and he went privately and told the earl.—"Lend my son the money," said he, "on condition that he shall tell you what he is to do with it." The young nobleman, who knew nothing of what had passed, was offered the money, on condition that he would say for what purpose he wanted it.—I have no objection was the answer. "I observe numbers of poor families who want clothing and blankets in this desperate weather. I want to give them some; and if you

It is a hard task to make a good use of a great fortune, and we have the testimony of our lord himself for the difficulties that surround the rich man; but to Lord F. might be applied the lines of Pope to Lord Bathurst, and with not less truth nor less propriety:

> The sense to value riches, with the art
> T' enjoy them, and the virtue to impart;
> Not meanly nor ambitiously pursu'd,
> Not sunk by sloth nor rais'd by servitude;
> To balance fortune by a just expense,
> Join with economy magnificence;
> With splendour charity, with plenty health,
> O teach us, Wentworth! yet unspoil'd by wealth!
> That secret rare between th' extremes to move,
> Of mean good-nature, and of mad self-love.

In politics, Earl Fitzwilliam is moderate, and of

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will go with me, we will buy them together."—Off they went on this expedition, and clothed the naked. The faithful steward reported the progress to the astonished and delighted father, who desired him to tell his son he might in future have any money that he wanted without limitation. This is not a romantic tale, told of an imaginary character. It is not told of the fool of quality; but a real fact of a living nobleman.

the party of Mr. Fox, as it was called, a party now without a chief, without consistency, and without connection.

As a politician, the noble earl looks on with that serenity which is often so observable in men of fortune, but which is in reality apathy or indifference in disguise.

When the county of York was to be contested, no man had more energy or more exertion than Lord Fitzwilliam, though to the real interests of the British empire it was of very little importance, whether Lord Milton or Mr. Lascelles represented that county, or whether those two gentlemen were in parliament at all, or not.

It would require some of those deep inquirers into the nature of the human mind, to explain such inconsistency of conduct; such undue importance given to an election-question, and so little attention when the fate of the empire is at stake.

When Lord Fitzwilliam was Lord-lieutenant of Ireland in 1794-5, he manifested a strong desire to conciliate the Irish, and to make that country happy. Had his ability been equal to his inclination, he would have done a great deal; but he was too unbending with ministers—too unaccommodat-

ing with the spies and underlings of the British court, who swarm about the castle of Dublin: so that he was soon recalled; when his independent spirit made him act in a way that brought complaints from ministers.

Mr. Pitt had many excellent qualities, but he would be obeyed, and this nobleman was not made of that sort of material that can be moulded at will; so that there never was any attempt made for their acting in concert afterwards. It is supposed that Lord Fitzwilliam was disgusted with politics, and that his own good understanding told him, that he could not afterwards, consistently with his own feelings, take any part in public affairs.

Mr. Burke's friends, of whom the earl was one, after they separated from Mr. Fox, divided amongst themselves. Fitzwilliam was soon almost alone, and has made one of what might properly be called the *neutrals*, though we wish his Lordship would consider, that this is not a time for neutrality.

To improve the political state of this country, there ought to be an *independent and occasional opposition;* that is, an opposition that occasionally would support ministers, and occasionally leave them

nd the systematic regular opposition* to fight ut a question, and sometimes support the regular pposition against ministers. This may appear, to systematic opposition-men, to be a wild sort of dream; but let them not judge too quickly: let them remember that this is a time for political changes; and that if Britain is meant to cope with France in a permanent way, it cannot be done by the violence of war, but by wisdom and energy in time of peace: and, with all due humility, it is suggested that this sort of opposition might effect the purpose. This subject is worth considering: let us try.

As matters are, ministers have to struggle with a

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* It will be seen in the political portrait of Mr. Sheridan, which will be given in our second volume, what admirable effects might arise from this proposed independent and occasional opposition. The excellent understanding, and love for his country which Mr. Sheridan possesses in a high degree, led him, in his individual self, to act in this independent manner, and we cannot but deplore the nature of a regular opposition, which makes those who compose it thwart the minister in every thing that he does, and thereby cripple the energies of the state. Earl Fitzwilliam in the lords, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan in the commons, might be two excellent leaders.

constant opposition: now, supposing they are right in half of their measures, and wrong in the other half, the floating opposition, (which must be supposed to be possessed of some intellect, as well as good intention*), would sometimes join ministers, we may suppose, at least on one third of the questions when they were right, and the opposition on one third†, when *they* happened to be right, and the other third of the times they would remain neutral.

The effect of such a division of power or of votes in the house would be, that ministers would be strong and irresistible in the measures they carried with the support of this floating party, and that frequently, when they found they were to be opposed by it, they would abandon a bad measure, rather than try their strength. We may at least say

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* This opposition being composed of independent men, such as now act separately, would have nothing to guide them but their opinion and intention, and it is fair to conclude that on an average they would have just as much intellect as the members of either of the other parties.

† This is a hypothetical calculation as to the third parts, but the foundation of it is correct, as a *pro forma* invoice in commerce shows the nature of the real invoice, though the quantities are imaginary.

that if this were practicable, it would be very desirable, and productive of the best of consequences.

We could wish to see Lord Fitzwilliam and about thirty members of the house of lords, (whom we could name), forming such an opposition, and to see Mr. Sheridan arrange a similar one, composed of about forty or fifty in the house of commons*. This would be a better alteration than any of the reforms, (as they are termed), that are so eagerly sought after, and of which we have represented the danger, as well as the absurdity.

Lord Fitzwilliam is only required to lay aside the apathy and indifference of which we have already complained. Let him remember the words that Addison puts in the mouth of the virtuous Roman patriot—

> I should have blush'd, if Cato's house had stood
> Aloof, or flourish'd in a civil war.

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* Mr. Sheridan, we repeat it, is one of the best public men of the present day, and that he is not in parliament is a great disgrace to somebody. To see millions wasted to bring in men who can neither think nor speak, and Sheridan left out, is like seeing brilliants of the first water stuck into lumps of clay, and common bits of glass mounted in the purest silver.

LORD FOLKESTONE.

This noble lord rose to political importance, as he himself informed the public, by mere accident. He seconded a motion made in the house of commons, not because he thought it right to be carried, but that he thought it right that it should be discussed, and as there was no one else to second it, he, with great generosity and humanity prevented it from falling to the ground. Some persons censure such conduct, but they are wrong. If a person passing the Serpentine river sees another fall in, and no one ready to help, is it necessary to inquire whether the drowning man is a good or a bad character before he gives his assistance? Let him save the man, and then let the man take his chance, for better or for worse: so humanity tells us to do, and so did Lord Folkestone, according to his own account, with the motion he seconded.

This *accidental* seconding of a motion decided the fate of Lord F. who thereby got acquainted with Mr. Cobbett, and many other characters that oppose ministers, and look down with contempt on the

regular members of the opposition.' Those men are the political Pharisees of the present era; and, as the regular opposition have laid claim to all the talents, they have laid claim to all the virtues*.

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* *All the talents* does not mean all talents of every sort; it is considered as confined to political talents; as for example, Lords Grey, Grenville, and Co. do not insist on our believing them to be the best painters, chemists, or botanists; and in like manner all the virtues are only to be considered as extending to the political virtues, thus Folkestone, Cobbett, and Burdett, (and those preferable or double-refined patriots), do not consider themselves as monopolizing the virtues of gratitude, consistency, moderation, charity, humanity, and other vulgar every-day virtues; but, for the love of country, for the defence of deserters or mutineers, for taking the buckram out of a minister's coat, as they call it, or listening to tales of complaints and grievances, their monopoly is a close one. Not a single virtue is to be smuggled, all being the exclusive property of the firm alluded to. Colonel Wardle shone resplendent at one time, and his virtues made a great noise. Thunder, it is known, can but be heard at eight miles distance, that is, over a circle sixteen miles in diameter; now, the superficies of a circle being to that of a square, as fourteen is to eleven, by the single rule of three we find the noise of loud thunder extend over about thirteen square miles and a half. And again, as Wardle's noise about Martello towers, and other scarecrows, extended over the whole kingdom, the farthest part of which is 600 miles distant, we find it cover a circle 1200 miles in diameter, or 1,440,000 circular miles, to 1,100,000 square miles; that is to

It is fortunate for those men of talents and virtue that they are kept in order by the firm hand of government, else it might happen as in France, when the men of talents and virtue quarrelled and guilotined, alternately, a number selected from each party, till scarcely a remnant was left, and they might have continued, had not Buonaparte, lending his aid to the men of talents, killed off the men of virtue with canister shot, and then bound over the whole nation to keep the peace, by a most rigorous course of self-emanating jurisprudence*.

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say, very nearly 100,000 times as great a space as the noise of thunder! What a sublime idea this gives of the powers of Colonel Wardle. His virtues shone clear at that time, and his patriotism sounded loud. The upholsterer Wright, and Mrs. Clarke, having outwitted the great patriot, he and his companions cannot with patience hear talk of talents, and they contemptuously leave them to Lords Grey and Grenville.

* Buonaparte was one of the violent jacobins, or men of severe political virtue. The men of talents sought place and power, and therefore the men of virtue despised them; and a crisis arising, Buonaparte was employed by the men of talents, to shoot the men of virtue. This the hero (till then starving) did in the pleasantest manner imaginable, 6000 being slain in one day; since which time the face of things has greatly changed, and all have been reduced

Lord Folkestone is too disinterested to become a member of government, if he had it in his power. He is too virtuous to become a member of the regular opposition, so that he must, of a sort of necessity arising from free-will*, continue to associate with Mr. Cobbett, Colonel Wardle, Sir Francis, and such disinterested and virtuous patriots.

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to absolute submission, by the man who was at first a humble instrument, and who, having triumphed over all the virtue, and all the talents, lays claim to the whole in his own person.

* Who, binding nature fast in fate,
Left free the human will.

Lord Folkestone, indeed, has no choice of companions: at the same time that he has no choice, he got in amongst his present associates of his own free-will; and as he is a man of talents, it would be well if he would furnish the world with an essay on liberty and necessity.

THE RIGHT HON. J. FOSTER, M. P.

This gentleman was formerly a most active and able political character. He had a good deal of those ready and general talents for business, for which the late Lord Melville was so famous, and by which he was rendered so useful during the administration of Mr. Pitt.

When chancellor of the Irish exchequer he was attacked by Mr. Parnell (we believe his relative by marriage) for having made improvident arrangements; but the subject is of so intricate a nature, that it is not very easy to decide with what propriety and reason the attack was made.

The Irish finances have undergone such a wonderful change since the beginning of the present revolutionary war, that it would be astonishing if mistakes had not been committed, and it must have been impossible to avoid censure.

Previous to 1792 the revenues of Ireland amounted annually to about one million one hundred thousand pounds, and the capital debt was about three millions. Now the revenue amounts to above six

millions, and the debt to above eighty*! That is to say, the revenue is five times what it was, and the debt more than twenty five times as great. So rapid an augmentation has not any example. In England the taxation has risen, during the same period, in the proportion of one to four, and the debt has increased in the proportion of only one to two and a half; that is to say, our taxation has increased considerably slower than in that of Ireland, and the debt just about one tenth only of the rate, comparing it with the existing debt previous to that period.

It is certain that unless some new plan is adopted with Irish finance, the race is nearly run, particularly when it is considered that the greater portion of the money is borrowed in England, and that therefore the interest must be remitted to England.

Notwithstanding the hostility of so able, so candid, and so patriotic a man as Parnell, we should wish that the Irish finances might always be in the

* This may not be very exact, but it is rather too low than too high; and the general conclusion does not depend upon the accuracy with regard to the precise increase, but on the truth and accuracy of the fact of a most unprecedented augmentation, both in revenue and in debt.

hands of men of equal abilities with Mr. Foster, who, it is certainly to be desired would take an active part in the business of the day, when we have so much want of financial aid in England*.

The labour to be done is that of Hercules, but where have we a Hercules to do the labour? There is something portentous and awful in this portion of our national affairs. The ablest financiers have withdrawn their aid†, and some who could aid,

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* Where were all the great patriots, and admirers of Mr. Pitt, when Mr. Vansittart laid an unhallowed hand on the sinking fund, that monument of Pitt's glory, and that saviour of England. It is to be feared that the line being once passed, no other barrier will be respected. All former sinking funds were violated in time of need, and to put off the evil hour; and therefore those who have paid any attention to the subject, and who wish well to England, feel very great apprehensions. On this subject see the portait of N. Vansittart, vol. 2. of this work.

† When Lord H. Petty was chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Vansittart acted as his bottle holder: he picked up the noble lord when he was knocked down; and though they gave in a most magnificent plan for ruining England, (as Necker had ruined France), yet Lord Castlereagh shewed that he understood matters of finance better than they did. Now that Mr. Vansittart has stood forward in his own person, in the first place, and has no longer Lord Henry Petty to assist, or to be assisted, Lord Castlereagh no longer interferes

seek other employments in other departments of the state. It seems as if the safety of England was left to the care of providence, and that we are gazing stupidly, to see by what miracle we are to be saved.

The power of salvation is within ourselves: economy in expenditure. But we must practice, and above all, preserve the inviolability of the sinking fund, which has saved England, and to which alone we have owed the means of borrowing money, without which we must, ere this, have given up the contest on which the security and independence of the British empire depend.

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with finance! What can all this mean? To common understandings it is very unfathomable, or rather very wrong. Why does Lord Castlereagh, who it appeared understood questions of finance better than Mr. Vansittart, not turn his attention to that important subject? Why did he stand by and see violent hands laid on the Pitt system, which he so ably defended in 1807.

FRANCIS II. EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

ALTHOUGH, by the temporary arrangements of the ruler of France, the German empire is dismembered, yet, in hopes that it will be restored, the title to which he has a right is here given to the Emperor of Austria.

In ordinary times, the Emperor Francis would rank high amongst sovereigns, but the ranks are now so broken, and so many sovereigns are put *hors du combat*, that it is no longer possible to assign him a station*.

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* Contrary to every principle of right or justice, after Buonaparte had made peace with the emperor, he, (proceeding on Machevilian policy), set to work with the nearest princes of the empire, to detach them by giving them (from each other) increase of territory, and elevation of rank; and the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, and the duke of Wirtemberg, became of the number of the kings of Buonaparte. The smaller princes, who were not worth consulting, or keeping in good humour, (what the French call *menager*), were diminished or dismissed, and a kingdom was erected for Brother Jerome, consisting of Hanover, and some contiguous states. A new name was invented

With the hereditary virtue, magnanimity, and honour of his imperial house, the emperor wants that hardy firmness that is necessary for those who treat with Buonaparte, or rather that is necessary to enable one to refuse to treat with him, in which resolution alone there appears to be any safety.

It is much easier to find fault than to know how to devise a means of avoiding error, and men are not willing to make sufficient allowance for him, who, under the impression of astonishment and anxiety, yields to what he can neither approve nor resist.

That we may judge of the character of the emperor, we must consider his situation on those trying occasions when we feel inclined to censure his conduct.

As to all the kingly virtues that are necessary in times of tranquillity, the emperor Francis possesses them in no ordinary degree; but many of those virtues rather do an injury in certain uncommon and unforeseen circumstances.

The French, under the jacobins, had terrified and

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for this new order of things, and it was called the Confederation of the Rhine, that river being the only line of demarkation between this western portion of Germany, and the country immediately under the dominion of Buonaparte.

repelled all the neighbouring nations, and Buonaparte seizing the reigns of government, had achieved great victories when he first seriously attacked the Emperor of Austria. Of the treachery of General Mack*, and the errors committed in the contest that terminated in the battle of Austerlitz, it is not necessary to speak in giving the portrait of the emperor, for defeat was the natural result of the German mode of fighting, when opposed to the French; but his imperial majesty is in some degree answerable for the peace, and for that he has been censured.

Had his Majesty persevered, and confided in the firmness of the emperor of Russia, who was prepared

* The French never fought an enemy till they had done all they could previously by bribery, and the distribution of gold. In the expedition in question, gold was employed in a most particular manner, and with great success. It is fortunate that this source of conquest is now nearly dried up; and the French, who maintained armies heretofore, and made war at the expense of the enemy, are now reduced to the necessity of carrying on war from their own resources, and therefore money begins to fail. It is probable that paper money will again be created, but of all countries France is that in which it will be of the least use. as the complete failure of *Assignats* and *Mandats* is so recent that there will be no sort of confidence in the interior; and as to the exterior they will not serve any purpose,

to support him to the last; or had he waited till his brave brother the Archduke Charles, who was near at hand with an army, had arrived to his assistance, the circumstances would have been altered: but anxiety to prevent greater evils from falling on his people, and on his family; and unable to bear the anxiety of mind attendant on such disasters, added to the renown of Buonaparte, his uninterrupted success, his personal qualities*, and his able and artful manœuvres, (assisted by that cloud of intriguers who are at his command, and who surround him, and are ready at the least signal to assist in his schemes), induced the emperor to yield. The error was in granting any interview, or in listening to any terms; but making allowance for his feelings, that was excusable, though fatal.

The second expedition of Buonaparte was, in many respects, so similar to the first, that the same

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* Buonaparte is quite in his element in the midst of trouble, and the state that is insufferable to a person like the emperor of Germany, is to him rather an enjoyment; perhaps it is the greatest pleasure that he has. One might as well go into the sea, and fight with a shark, or contend, in a furnace, with a salamander, as in such a case withstand Buonaparte, if once arrangement is in question. The only safety is to avoid all offers to treat.

apology applies, except that the emperor of Germany had experience of his treachery and bad faith: as a counter-balance to that, however, he had not the emperor of Russia's powerful aid at hand, and his own power was greatly diminished, whilst that of his enemy was greatly increased.

An intermediate occurrence is more blamable. When Buonaparte marched against Prussia and Russia, Austria might have saved Europe, and regained all that was lost by coming in his rear, interrupting his supplies, and preventing his retreat. The fatal peace of Tilsit was the consequence of omitting this opportunity, and the humiliation of the house of Brandenburgh*, has been amply revenged by the subsequent attack on the emperor, the victory at Wagram, and the humiliation of yielding up his daughter in marriage to the tyrant.

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* Prussia had refused to attack Buonaparte in the rear, and cut off his supplies, when he first marched to Vienna, and now the emperor acted in a similar way with Prussia. It is impossible to conceive a more unfortunate line of conduct than that which both monarchs pursued. They did not fully appreciate circumstances, and see that it was one of those serious moments when all envy, animosity, or revenge should be set aside, to combat seriously, and with advantage, the man who wanted to destroy them both.

In all this the emperor has shewn himself unequal to the circumstances, but most of all, when he joined in aiding the attack on Russia in 1812; for though it was rather an appearance of assisting than real assistance, yet that appearance was below his dignity, and inconsistent with his honourable character.

So far was the emperor contaminated by the contact with the ruler of France, that his conduct was such as left him only to choose between unbecoming dissimulation, or unprincipled assistance; and in either case the emperor Francis acted unlike himself.

The great emperor of the north, and the British victories under the brave Wellington in Spain, at last proved that the tyrant and his armies are not invincible; and now an opportunity is again given for the emperor Francis to redeem his honour, which, though tarnished, has never been lost*. We hope, for the sake of mankind, that he will act like the descendant of Maria Theresa, and that the imperial family will again rise to that rank

* We must also make allowance on account of circumstances we do not probably know, for when a man acts unlike himself, there is probably some hidden reason for so doing.

which from the virtues of its princes it has deserved, and which it is for the interest of all Europe that it ever should maintain*.

This portrait of the emperor was written before his joining the allies, and before his admirable manifesto appeared in this country; a manifesto unequalled either for its importance, the comprehensive view it takes of the real state of the question it is intended to discuss, or the effects it is calculated to produce.

It is a matter of some gratification to the author of this portrait, that, previous to the late resolution of the emperor, he had attributed all those virtues to his Majesty that he now has shewn himself to possess; and that the very circumstances which he ventured to blame in his Majesty's conduct, have not only been explained, but explained in a manner that shews that his Majesty's error arose from those feelings and virtues to which he attributed them.

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* The German empire was a balance to France in the centre of Europe, the dismemberment of that empire was therefore of itself a misfortune; but when of the fragments a confederation of the Rhine was formed, under the immediate influence of France, it was a step totally incompatible with the interests of other European states.

It would be unpardonable to omit giving this inimitable manifesto, which contains not only a most impressive and lively description of the ambition and bad faith of Buonaparte, but contains also a most interesting picture of the feelings of the emperor as a sovereign and a father.

Europe can no longer be blind to its danger, or its sovereigns seek safety or repose in any temporising or plausible arrangements, while the power of leading the inhabitants of Germany, Italy, Holland, and Switzerland, remains with the ambitious despot who rules France, and who in the words of the Emperor Francis is determined not to make, to the repose of Europe, "*even one single nominal sacrifice.*"

AUSTRIAN DECLARATION against FRANCE.

MANIFESTO

OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA, KING OF HUNGARY AND BOHEMIA.

THE Austrian monarchy has been compelled, by its situation, by its various connections with the other powers, and its importance in the confederacy of European states, to engage in most of those

wars which have ravaged Europe for upwards of twenty years. Throughout the progress of these arduous struggles, the same political principle has invariably directed his imperial Majesty. A lover of peace, from a sense of duty, from his own natural feelings, and from attachment to his people—free from all ambitious thoughts of conquest and aggrandisement—his Majesty has only taken up arms when called by the urgent necessity of self-preservation, by an anxiety for the fate of contiguous states, inseparable from his own, or by the danger of beholding the entire social system of Europe a prey to a lawless and absolute power. To promote justice and order have been the object of his Majesty's life and reign: for these alone have Austria contended. If in these frequently unsuccessful contests deep wounds have been inflicted on the monarchy, still his Majesty had the consolation to reflect, that the fate of his empire had not been hazarded upon needless and violent enterprises: that all his decisions were justifiable before God, his people, his contemporaries, and posterity.

Notwithstanding the most ample preparations, the war in 1809 would have brought the state to ruin, had not the ever-memorable bravery of the army, and the spirit of true patriotism which animated all parts of the monarchy, overbalanced every adverse occurrence. The honour of the nation, and its ancient renown in arms, were happily upheld during all the mischances of this war; but valuable provinces were lost; and Austria, by the cession of the countries bordering upon the Adriatic, was deprived of all share in maritime commerce, one of the most efficient means of promoting her industry; a blow which would have been still more sensibly felt, had not, at the same time, the whole continent been closed by a general and destructive system, preventing all commercial

intercourse, and almost suspending all communication amongst nations.

The progress and result of this war fully satisfied his Majesty, that in the obvious impossibility of an immediate and thorough improvement of the political condition of Europe, shaken as it was to its very foundation, the exertions of individual states in their own defence, instead of setting bounds to the general distress, would only tend to destroy the little strength they still retained, would hasten the fall of the whole, and even destroy all hopes of future and better times. Under this conviction his Majesty foresaw the important advantage that would result from a peace, which, if secured for some years, might check this overgrown, and hitherto irresistible power—might allow his monarchy that repose which was indispensable to the restoration of his finances and his army, and, at the same time, procure to the neighbouring states a period of relaxation, which, if improved with prudence and activity, might prepare the way to more fortunate times. Such a peace, under the existing circumstances of danger, was only to be obtained by an extraordinary effort. The emperor was sensible of it, and made this effort. For the preservation of the empire, for the most sacred interests of mankind—as a security against immeasurable evils, as a pledge of a better order of things—his Majesty sacrificed what was dearest to his heart. With this view, exalted above all common scruples, armed against every misconstruction of the moment, an alliance was formed which was intended, by a sense of some security, to reanimate the weaker and more suffering party, after the miseries of an unsuccessful struggle, to incline the stronger and victorious one to a course of moderation and justice, without which the community of states can only be considered as a community of misery.

His Majesty was the more justified in these expectations, because, at the time of the consummation of this union, the emperor Napoleon had attained that point of his career when the preservation of his conquests was a more natural and desirable object than a restless struggle after new possessions. Any farther extension of his dominions, long since outstretching their proper limits, was attended with evident danger, not only to France, already sinking under the burthen of his conquests, but even to his own real personal interest. What his authority gained in extent, it necessarily lost in point of security. By an union with the most ancient imperial family in Christendom, the edifice of his greatness acquired, in the eyes of the French nation, and of the world, such an addition of strength and perfection, that any ulterior scheme of aggrandisement must only weaken and destroy its stability. What France, what Europe, what so many oppressed and despairing nations earnestly demanded of Heaven, a sound policy prescribed to the triumphant ruler as a law of self-preservation—and it was allowed to hope that so many great and united motives would prevail over the ambition of an individual.

If these flattering prospects were destroyed, it is not to be imputed to Austria. After many years fruitless exertions, after boundless sacrifices of every description, there existed sufficient motives for the attempt to procure a better order of things by confidence and concession, when streams of blood had hitherto produced nothing but misery and destruction; nor can his Majesty ever regret that he has been induced to attempt it.

The year 1810 was not yet closed—the war still raged in Spain—the people of Germany had scarcely been allowed a sufficient time to recover from the devastations of the two former wars, when, in an

evil hour, the Emperor Napoleon resolved to unite a considerable portion of the north of Germany with the mass of countries which bore the name of the French empire, and to rob the ancient free commercial cities of Hamburgh, Bremen and Lubeck, first of their political, and shortly after, of their commercial existence, and with that of their means of subsistence. This violent step was adopted, without any even plausible pretensions, in contempt of every decent form, without any previous declaration, or communication with any other cabinet, under the arbitrary and futile pretext that the war with England required it.

This cruel system, which was intended to destroy the commerce of the world, at the expense of the independence, the prosperity, the rights and dignity, and in utter ruin of the public and private property of all the continental powers, was pursued with unrelenting severity, in the vain expectation of forcing a result, which, had it not fortunately proved unattainable, would have plunged Europe, for a long time to come, into a state of poverty, impotence, and barbarity.

The decree by which a new French dominion was established on the German coasts, under the title of a Thirty-second Military Division, was in itself sufficiently calculated to raise the suspicions of the adjoining states, and it was the more alarming to them as the forerunner of future and greater dangers. By this decree it became evident, that the system which had been created in France, (although previously transgressed, yet still proclaimed to be in existence), the system of the pretended natural limits of the French empire, was, without any further justification or explanation, overthrown, and even the emperor's arbitrary acts were in the same arbitrary manner annihilated. Neither the princes of the Rhinish

confederacy, nor the kingdom of Westphalia, no territory, great or small, was spared, in the accomplishment of this dreadful usurpation. The boundary, drawn apparently by blind caprice, without either rule or plan, without any consideration of ancient or more recent political relations, intersected rivers and countries, cut off the middle and southern states of Germany from all connection with the German sea, passed the Elbe, separated Denmark from Germany, laid its pretensions even to the Baltic, and seemed to be rapidly approaching the line of Prussian fortresses still occupied on the Oder; and so little did this act of usurpation (however powerfully it affected all rights and possessions, all geographic, political, and military lines of demarkation) carry with it a character of determinate and complete accession of territory, that it was impossible to view it in any other light than as a forerunner of still greater usurpations, by which one half of Germany was to become a French province, and the Emperor Napoleon the absolute ruler of the continent.

To Russia and Prussia this unnatural extension of the French territory could not fail of producing the most serious alarm. The latter, surrounded on all sides, no longer capable of free action, deprived of every means of obtaining fresh strength, appeared hastening to its dissolution. Russia, already in fear for her western frontier, by the conversion of the city of Dantzic, declared a free city by the treaty of Tilsit, into a French military port, and of a great part of Poland into a French province, could not but see, in the advance of the French dominion along the sea coast, and in the new chains prepared for Prussia, the imminent danger of her German and Polish possessions. From this moment, therefore, the rupture between France and Russia was as good as decided.

Not without deep and just anxiety did Austria observe the storm which was gathering. The scene of hostilities would in every case be contiguous to her provinces, which, owing to the necessary reform in the financial system which had cramped the restoration of her military means, were in a very defenceless state. In a higher point of view, the struggle which awaited Russia appeared still more doubtful, as it commenced under the same unfavourable conjuncture of affairs, with the same want of co-operation on the part of other powers, and with the same disproportion in their relative means, consequently was just as hopeless as all former struggles of the same nature. His Majesty the emperor made every effort in his power, by friendly mediation with both parties, to avert the impending storm. No human judgment could at that time foresee that the period was so near at hand, when the failure of these friendly attempts should prove more injurious to the emperor Napoleon than to his opponents. Thus, however, it was resolved by the wisdom of Providence.

When the commencement of hostilities was no longer doubtful, his Majesty was compelled to have recourse to measures which, in so unnatural and dangerous a conjuncture, might combine his own security with just considerations for the real interests of neighbouring states. The system of unarmed inaction, the only neutrality which the Emperor Napoleon, according to his own declarations, would have permitted, was, by every sound maxim of policy, wholly inadmissible, and would at last have proved only a vain endeavour to shrink from the approaching trial. A power so important as Austria could not renounce all participation in the interests of Europe, nor could she place herself in a situation in which, equally ineffective in peace or war, she would lose her voice and influence in

all great negociations, without acquiring any guarantee for the security of her own frontier. To prepare for war against France would have been, under the existing circumstances, as little consonant with equity as with prudence. The emperor Napoleon had given his Majesty no personal ground for hostile proceedings; and the prospect of attaining many beneficial results by a skilful employment of the established friendly relations, by confidential representations, and by conciliatory councils, had not yet been abandoned as hopeless. And with regard to the immediate interest of the state, such a revolution would inevitably have been attended with this consequence—that the Austrian territory would have become the first and principal seat of war, which, with its well-known deficiency of means of defence, could, in a short time, have overthrown the monarchy.

In this painful situation his Majesty had no other resource than to take the field on the side of France. To take up arms for France, in the real sense of the word, would have been a measure not only in contradiction with the duties and principles of the emperor, but even with the repeated declarations of his cabinet, which had, without any reserve, disapproved of this war. On the signature of the treaty of the 12th of March 1812, his Majesty proceeded upon two distinct principles: the first, as is proved by the words of the treaty, was to leave no means untried which might, sooner or later, obtain a peace; the other was to place himself internally and externally in a position, which, if it should prove impossible to effect a peace, or in case the turn of the war should render decisive measures in this part necessary, would enable Austria to act with independence, and in either of these cases to adopt the measures which a just and wise policy should prescribe. Upon this principle it was that only

a fixed and comparatively small part of the army was destined to co-operate in the war; the other military resources, at that time in a state of readiness, or that still remained to be prepared, were not called forth for the prosecution of this war. By a kind of tacit agreement between the belligerents, the Austrian territory was even treated as neutral. The real end and views of the system adopted by his Majesty could not escape the notice of France, Russia, or any intelligent observer.

The campaign of 1812 furnished a memorable example of the failure of an undertaking supported by gigantic powers, conducted by a captain of the first rank, when, in the confidence of great military talents, he despises the rules of prudence, and outsteps the bounds of nature. The illusion of glory carried the emperor Napoleon into the heart of the Russian empire; and a false political view of things induced him to imagine that he should dictate a peace in Moscow, should cripple the Russian power for half a century, and then return victorious. When this magnanimous constancy of the emperor of Russia, the glorious deeds of his warriors, and the unshaken fidelity of his people, put an end to this dream, it was too late to repent it with impunity. The whole French army was scattered and destroyed: in less than four months we have seen the theatre of war transferred from the Dnieper and the Dwina to the Oder and the Elbe.

This rapid and extraordinary change of fortune was the forerunner of an important revolution in all the political relations of Europe. The confederacy of Russia, Great Britain, and Sweden, presented a point of union to all neighbouring states. Prussia, whom report had long declared determined to risk all, to prefer even the danger of immediate political destruction to the lingering sufferings of conti-

nual oppression, seized the favourable moment, and threw herself into the arms of the allies. Many greater and smaller princes of Germany were ready to do the same. Every where the ardent desires of the people anticipated the regular proceedings of their governments. Their impatience to live in independence, and under their own laws, the sentiment of wounded national honour, and the hatred of a foreign dominion, broke out in bright flames on all sides.

His Majesty the emperor, too intelligent not to consider this change of affairs as the natural and necessary consequence of a previous violent political convulsion, and too just to view it in anger, was solely bent upon securing, by deep-digested, and well-combined measures, the real and permanent interest of the European commonwealth. Already, in the beginning of December, considerable steps had been taken on the part of the Austrian cabinet, in order to dispose the Emperor Napoleon to quiet and peaceful policy, on grounds which equally interested the world, and his own welfare. These steps were from time to time renewed and enforced. Hopes had been entertained that the impression of last year's campaign, the recollection of the fruitless sacrifice of an immense army, the severe measures of every description that would be necessary to replace that loss, the decided disinclination of France, and of all those nations connected with her, to a war, which, without any prospect of future indemnification, exhausted and ruined her internal strength, that lastly, even a calm reflection on the doubtful issue of this new and highly imminent crisis, would move the emperor to listen to the representations of Austria. The tone of these representations was carefully adapted to the circumstances of the times, serious as the greatness of the object, moderate as the desire

of a favourable issue, and as the existing friendly relations required.

That overtures flowing from so pure a motive should be decidedly rejected, could not certainly be foreseen: but the manner in which they were received, and still more, the striking contrast between the sentiments entertained by Austria and the whole conduct of the emperor Napoleon, to the period of these unsuccessful endeavours for peace, soon destroyed the best hopes that were entertained. Instead of endeavouring by a moderate language to improve at least our view of the future, and to lessen the general despondency, it was on every occasion solemnly declared, before the highest authorities in France, that the emperor would hear of no proposition for peace, that should violate the integrity of the French empire, in the French sense of the word, or that should make any pretension to the arbitrarily incorporated provinces.

At the same time, eventual conditions, with which this self-created boundary did not even appear to have any relation, were spoken of; at one time menacing indignation, at another with bitter contempt: as if it had not been possible to declare, in terms sufficiently distinct, the resolution of the emperor Napoleon, *not to make to the repose of the world even one single nominal sacrifice.*

These hostile demonstrations were attended with this particular mortification to Austria, that they placed even the invitations to peace which this cabinet, with the knowledge and apparent consent of France, made to other courts, in a false and highly disadvantageous light. The sovereigns, united against France, instead of any answer to Austria's propositions for negociation, and her offers of mediation, laid before her the public declarations of the French emperor. And when, in the month of March last, his Majesty sent a minister to London, to invite England to share in a negociation

for peace, the British ministry replied, "that they would not believe Austria still entertained any hopes of peace, when the emperor Napoleon had in the mean time expressed sentiments which could only tend to the perpetuation of war;" a declaration which was the more painful to his Majesty, the more that it was just and well founded.

Austria, however, did not, upon this account, cease to impress the necessity of peace upon the mind of the emperor of France, in more forcible and distinct terms; directed in all her measures by this principle, that, as all order and balance of power in Europe had been destroyed by the boundless superiority of France, no real peace was to be expected, unless that superiority were diminished. His Majesty, in the mean time adopted every necessary measure to strengthen and concentrate his armies; sensible that Austria must be prepared for war, if her mediation were not to be entirely unavailing. His imperial Majesty had moreover been long since persuaded, that the probability of an immediate share in the war would no longer be excluded from his calculations. The actual state of things could not be continued; of this the emperor was convinced: this conviction was the main spring of his actions, and was naturally strengthened by the failure of any attempt to procure a peace. The result was apparent. By one means or the other, either by negociation or by force of arms, a new state of things must be effected.

The emperor Napoleon was not only aware of the Austrian preparations for war, but even acknowledged them as necessary, and justified them in more than one instance. He had sufficient reason to believe that his Majesty the emperor, at a period so decisive for the fate of the whole world, would lay aside all personal and temporary feelings, would alone consult the lasting welfare of

Austria, and of the countries by which she is surrounded, and would resolve nothing but what this great motive should impose as a duty upon him. The Austrian cabinet had never expressed itself in terms that would warrant any other construction; and yet the French did not only acknowledge that the Austrian mediation could only be an armed mediation, but declared, upon more than one occasion, that Austria under existing circumstances, ought no longer to confine herself to act a secondary part, but should appear in force upon the stage, and decide as a great and independent power. Whatever the French government could either hope or fear from Austria, this acknowledgment was of itself a previous justification of the whole intended and hitherto adopted measures of his imperial Majesty.

Thus far were circumstances developed when the emperor Napoleon left Paris, in order to make head against the progress of the allied armies. Even their enemies have done homage to the valour of the Russian and Prussian troops in the sanguinary actions of the month of May. That, however the result of this first period of the campaign was not more favourable to them, was owing partly to the great numerical superiority of the French force, and to the universally acknowledged military talents of their leader, and partly to the political combinations, by which the allied sovereigns were guided in all their undertakings. They acted under the just supposition, that a cause like the one in which they were engaged, could not possibly be confined to themselves, that sooner or later, whether successful or unfortunate, every state which still preserved a shadow of independence must join their confederacy, every independent army must act with them. They therefore did not allow further scope to the bravery of their troops,

than the moment required, and preserved a considerable part of their strength for a period, when, with more extended means, they might look to the attainment of greater objects. For the same cause, and with a view to the developement of events, they consented to the armistice.

In the mean time the retreat of the allies had for the moment given an appearance to the war, which daily became more interesting to the emperor, from the impossibility, if it should proceed, of his remaining an inactive spectator of it. The fate of the Prussian monarchy was a point which peculiarly attracted the attention of his Majesty, feeling, as the emperor did, that the restoration of the Prussian monarchy was the first step towards that of the whole political system of Europe, and he viewed the danger in which she now stood, as equally affecting himself. Already, in the month of April, had the emperor Napoleon suggested to the Austrian cabinet, that he considered the dissolution of the Prussian monarchy as a natural consequence of her defection from France, and of the continuation of the war, and that it now only depended upon Austria to add the most important, and most flourishing of her provinces to its own state; a suggestion which showed distinctly enough, that no means could properly be neglected to save that power. If this great object could not be obtained by a just peace, it was nesessary to support Russia and Prussia by a powerful co-operation. From this natural view of things, upon which even France could no longer deceive herself, his Majesty continued his preparations with unwearied activity. He quitted, in the early part of July, his residence, and proceeded to the vicinity of the scene of action, in order the more effectually to labour at the negociation for peace, which still continued to be the object of his

most ardent desires; and partly to be able the more effectually to conduct the preparations for war, if no other choice should remain for Austria.

A short time before, the emperor Napoleon had declared, "that he had proposed a congress, to be held at Prague, where plenipotentiaries from France, the United States of North America, Denmark, the King of Spain, and the other allied princes on the one hand; and on the other, plenipotentiaries of England, Russia, Prussia, the Spanish insurgents, and the other allies of this hostile mass, should meet, and lay the ground-work of a durable peace." To whom this proposition was addressed, in what manner, in what diplomatic form, through whose organ it could have been done, was perfectly unknown to the Austrian cabinet, which only was made acquainted with the circumstance through the medium of the public prints. How, too, such a project could be brought to bear, how, from the combination of such dissimilar elements, without any generally acknowledged principle, without any previously regulated plan, a negociation for peace was to be set on foot, was so little to be comprehended, that it was very allowable to consider the whole proposition rather as a play of the imagination, than as a serious invitation to the adoption of a great political measure.

Perfectly acquainted with all the obstacles to a general peace, Austria had long considered whether this distant and difficult object was not rather to be attained progressively? and, in this opinion, had expressed herself both to France, and to Russia and Prussia upon the subject of a continental peace. Not that the Austrian court had misconceived, even for a moment, the necessity and importance of a universal peace among all the great powers of Europe, and without which there was no hope of either

safety or happiness, or had imagined that the continent could exist, if the separation of England were not invariably considered as a most deadly evil! The negociation which Austria proposed, after the alarming declaration of France, had nearly destroyed all hopes of England uniting her endeavours in the attempt to procure a general peace, was an essential part of the great approaching negociation, for a general and effective congress for peace; it was intended as preparatory to this, to draw up the preliminary articles of the future treaty, to pave the way by a long continental armistice to a more extended and durable negociation. Had the principle upon which Austria advanced been other than this, neither Russia nor Prussia, bound by the strongest ties to England, would certainly ever have listened to the proposals of the Austrian cabinet.

After the Russian and Prussian courts, animated by a confidence in his Majesty, highly flattering to the emperor, had already declared their concurrence in the proposed congress under the mediation of Austria, it became necessary to obtain the formal assent of the emperor Napoleon, and to determine upon what principles the negociations for peace were to be carried on. For this purpose his imperial Majesty resolved, towards the end of the month of June, to send his minister for foreign affairs to Dresden. The result of this mission was a convention concluded upon the 30th June, accepting the mediation of his imperial Majesty in the negociation of a general, and if that could not be effected, of a preliminary continental peace. The city of Prague was fixed upon for the meeting of the congress, and the 5th of July for the day of its opening. In order to obtain a sufficient time for the negociation, it was determined by the same convention that the emperor Napoleon should not give notice of the rupture of the armistice

which was to terminate on the 20th of July, at that time existing between himself and Russia, till the 10th of August; and his Majesty the emperor took upon himself to obtain a similar declaration from the Russian and Prussian courts.

The points which had been determined in Dresden, were hereupon imparted to the two courts. Although the continuation of the armistice was attended with many objections, and with much serious inconvenience to them, the desire of giving to his imperial Majesty another proof of their confidence, and at the same time to satisfy the world that they would not reject any prospect of peace, however confined it might be, that they would not refuse any attempt which might prepare the way to it, overcame every consideration. The only alteration made in the convention of the 30th June, was, that the term of the opening the congress, since the final regulations could not so soon be determined, should be deferred until the 12th of July.

In the mean time his Majesty, who would not as yet abandon all hopes of completely terminating, by a general peace, the sufferings of mankind, and the convulsions of the political world, had also resolved upon a new attempt with the British government. The emperor Napoleon not only received the proposal with apparent approbation, but even voluntarily offered to expedite the business, by allowing the persons to be despatched for that purpose to England, a passage through France. When it was to be carried into effect, unexpected difficulties arose, the passports were delayed from time to time, under trifling pretexts, and at length entirely refused. This proceeding afforded a fresh and important ground for entertaining just doubts as to the sincerity of the assurances which the emperor Napoleon had more than once publicly expressed of his disposition to peace, although several of his expressions at that

particular period, afforded just reason to believe that a maritime peace was the object of his most anxious solicitude.

During that interval their Majesties the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia had nominated their plenipotentiaries to the congress, and had furnished them with very decisive instructions. On the 12th of July they both arrived at Prague, as well as his Majesty's minister, charged with the concerns of the mediation.

The negociations were not to be protracted beyond the 10th of August, except in the event of their assuming such a character as to induce a confident hope of a favourable result. To that day the armistice had been extended through the mediation of Austria: the political and military situation of the allied sovereigns, the condition of the countries they occupied, and their anxious wish to terminate an irksome period of uncertainty, prevented any further extension of it. With all these circumstances the emperor Napoleon was acquainted; he well knew that the period of the negociations was necessarily defined by that of the armistice; and he could not moreover conceal from himself how much his own determinations would influence the happy abridgment and successful result of the pending negociations.

It was therefore with real sorrow that his Majesty soon perceived not only that no serious step was taken by France to accelerate this great work, but on the contrary, it appeared as if a procrastination of the negociations, and evasion of a favourable issue had been decidedly intended. There was, indeed, a French minister at the place of congress, but without any orders to proceed to business, until the appearance of the first plenipotentiary.

The arrival of that plenipotentiary was in vain expected from

day to day. Nor was it until the 21st July, that it was ascertained that a demur which took place on settling the renewal of the armistice between the French and Russian and Prussian commissioners, an obstruction of very subordinate importance, having no influence whatever upon the congress, and which might have been very easily and speedily removed by the interference of Austria, was made use of as the justification of this extraordinary delay. And when this last pretext was removed, it was not until the 28th July, sixteen days after that appointed for the opening of the congress, that the first French plenipotentiary arrived.

Even in the very first days after this minister's arrival, no doubt remained as to the fate of the congress. The form in which the full powers were to be delivered, and the mutual explanations should be conducted, a point which had already been treated by all parties, became the object of a discussion which rendered all the endeavours of the mediating powers abortive. The apparent insufficiency of the powers intrusted to the French negociator, occasioned a silence of several days. Nor was it until the 6th of August that this minister gave in a new declaration, by which the difficulties with respect to forms were by no means removed, nor the negociation brought one step nearer to its object. After a useless exchange of notes upon every preliminary question, the 10th of August arrived. The Prussian and Russian negociators could not exceed this term: the congress was at an end, and the resolution which Austria had to form was previously determined by the progress of this negociation; by the actual conviction of the impossibility of peace; by the no longer doubtful point of view in which his Majesty examined the great question in dispute; by the principles and intentions of the allies, wherein the emperor recognized his own; and finally, by the former positive declarations, which left no room for misconception.

Not without sincere affliction, and alone consoled by the certainty that every means to avoid the war had been exhausted, does the emperor now find himself compelled to action. For three years has his Majesty laboured with unceasing perseverance to effect, by mild and conciliatory measures, real and durable peace for Austria and for Europe. All his endeavours have failed; there is now no remedy, no recourse to be had but to arms. The emperor takes them up without any personal animosity, from a painful necessity, from an irresistible duty, upon grounds which any faithful citizen of his realm, which the world, which the emperor Napoleon himself, in a moment of tranquillity and reason, will acknowledge and justify. The necessity of this war is engraven in the heart of every Austrian, of every European, under whosoever dominion he may live, in such legible characters that no art is necessary to distinguish them. The nation and the army will do their duty. A union established by common necessity, and by the mutual interest of every power that is in arms for its independence, will give due weight to our exertions, and the result, with the assistance of Heaven, will be such as must fulfil the just expectations of every friend of order and of peace.

No commentary is necessary on so admirable a declaration, which shews that the Emperor Francis is worthy to be the companion in arms of the magnanimous and brave Alexander, Emperor of all the Russias.

FREDERICK WILLIAM,

KING OF PRUSSIA.

HIS Prussian Majesty has been ruined by bad advisers; men whom he admitted into his cabinet, and whose councils he followed when they were led away by his enemies, to his ruin.

No monarch ever conducted himself in so strange a manner as Frederick William. When he might have saved Europe and himself, he stood and looked on, and saw Germany laid at the feet of the conqueror, who aspired at subjecting all nations to his sway: and what is still more strange, when he had scarcely a chance of success, he came forward alone to fight France; and at the battle of Jena, in a few hours, he saw the states of Frederick the Great, and the armies that had been the admiration of Europe, entirely subdued and dispersed*. Never was there

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The Prussian monarch, who had seen Austria defeated, and the German empire threatened with destruction, appeared only to rise to resistance because he was not allowed to keep Hanover, a state

a more extraordinary spectacle, than to see the dispersed troops of Prussia scattered over their own country, and in want of food to eat, while the French, newly arrived, found plenty of every thing. Such was the fate of Prussia, the former head-quarters of atheism, and those philosophical principles that first brought on the French revolution*.

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belonging to a friendly power. Buonaparte then acted a part that was really worthy of a usurper, ambitious to ruin other nations, and who knew how to bribe and entice weak and interested men to their ruin. He first acted as if Hanover were to be left in the possession of his Prussian Majesty, and thereby made him embroil himself with England, after which he, without any ceremony, gave Frederick to understand, that he had nothing to expect as to retaining Hanover; and when Prussia prepared to resist, he came forward as to certain conquest. The letter written by Buonaparte to the king of Prussia, immediately before the battle of Jena, shews that he was playing a sure game; that he had secured success. Even the style of the letter shews that Buonaparte knew that the king was betrayed, and that his power was departed from him. He wrote in the style that a giant would do to a dwarf, who had the vanity to encounter him in arms: it was a letter of that sneering sort of persuasion that is employed where there is an absolute certainty of what is to take place.

* It is not meant to be said, that the French revolution was entirely brought on by the preachers of new doctrines; for when governments are weak and wasteful, as that of France undoubtedly was, revolutions must happen; but it was owing to the doctrines

A singular enough fate, indeed, and one that shows that without moral principle, there is no dependence on armies bred merely on mechanical principles, and where every man is considered as an automaton.

The discipline of the Prussians had been long admired; but the slaves on a West India plantation were happy in comparison to those soldiers who were the admiration of Europe, and who detested both their sovereign, and the officers who were the instruments of his tyranny.

Had the King of Prussia possessed the prudence to wait till the emperor Alexander had come to his assistance, he might still have been safe; had he provisioned and garrisoned the strong places in his own dominions, and retreated upon the Vistula, matters would have been very different: but he omitted every necessary precaution. His fortresses were not provided, and he advanced to meet his powerful antagonist without preparing for a reverse,

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taught by Voltaire, and encouraged by Frederick of Prussia, that the revolution took the form that it did, and shewed mankind that POLITICAL FANATICS are even more absurd, tyrannical, and cruel, than RELIGIOUS FANATICS.

and totally ignorant of the treason that had prepared a triumph for his enemy.

The want of moderation in Buonaparte, and the magnanimity of Alexander, the hero of the north, have given to Frederick one more opportunity of retrieving his fortunes; and as experience has at last taught him that to follow interested views at the expense of honour and principle, is as bad policy as it is disgraceful, he will no doubt persevere. Prussia has suffered so much, that treason will no longer be admitted, for total ruin and subjugation are certain if she does not use every means, and exert every energy to resist France.

The king of Prussia has not been without great blame, but still he has been rather the tool of designing men, and the victim of his advisers, than the betrayer of the cause of nations from his own disposition: we must, therefore, hope, that as he has been docile under the influence of bad men, he will become a firm supporter of the good cause, when animated by the example, and guided by the honourable principles of the Emperor Alexander.

Note.—ALTHOUGH what took place in Prussia or in France, with the late Prussian king, is not immediately connected with the por-

trait of Frederick William, yet the following statement bears such an appearance of truth, relating to a subject that has caused so much uncertain speculation, and is extracted from a work so little known in this country, that it would be wrong to pass it over. It is given in the original French, that there may be the less doubt respecting its authenticity.

The author lived in Paris, as he tells us in his preface, and had been employed during ten years, in writing a Philosophical History of the Revolutions of Europe, since the fall of the Roman empire, and this work was nearly finished previous to 1789, when a new revolution in his own country, more extraordinary and more important than any that he had recorded, took place.

Of his work, which lasted as long as the Trojan war, we knew nothing; it appears that he had met with so much difficulty, and had so much danger to fear, that it had not appeared, and that Robespierre and his committee of public safety, did not even answer the memorial of the author, who, it appears, was imprisoned, and companion in misfortune with ercier, so well known to the world by his *Tableau de Paris*, and his Year 2500. The relation of all this is indistinct, but the work swelled to 12 volumes, of which the revolution of France appears to have made the latter volumes; and not finding a printer willing to undertake so extensive and expensive a work, the French part appeared in 1796, by itself, and as a separate work, under the title of *Histoire Philosophique de la Revolution de France.*

The title is perhaps a little too lofty, and Paris was not the place where a philosophic historian could write on recent events: but the reader must observe, that, after the fall of Robespierre, a writer might express himself as freely concerning him and his faction, as we can do now in England respecting the house of Stwart. It was a singular

advantage that events were so rapid, that while the memory of them was fresh, the cotemporary historian could record with complete liberty. The work has many faults, and yet great merits. A modern reviewer would perhaps condemn the writer for imitating Raynal in his title, when he could neither equal him in his candour, in the beauty and elegance of his style, or the depth of his observations; but on the whole, allowing for the time and place, it is a work of great value, notwithstanding its preference to the French nation, above all others, and a strong tincture of democracy.

Extract from the HISTOIRE PHILOSOPHIQUE DE LA REVOLUTION DE FRANCE. *Par Antoine Fantin-desodoards, Citoyen François. Tome Premier, page* 135-6.

Speaking of the Prussian army in 1792, he says—" L'embarras " du roi de Prusse était extrême.

" Le temps, qui dévoile à la longue les secrets les plus caches de la " politique, nous a instruits que Louis XVI. du fond de sa prison du " Temple, fut une des principales causes de cet événement inattendu. " JE TIENS DE MANUEL, procureur de la commune de Paris, " qu'accompagné de Péthion et de Kersaint, il détermina Louis XVI. " à prier lui-même, par écrit, le roi de Prusse de retirer ses troupes des " provinces Françaises. Ces trois hommes assurèrent le monarque " prisonnier qu'à cette démarche était attachée la conservation de " son existence et de celle de ses enfans.

" Lorsque, dans la suite, la convention condamna Louis à perdre " la tête sur un échafaud, il dit à ceux qui l'environnaient: Je suis " sûr que Péthion, Manuel, et Kersaint n'ont pas voté pour ma mort. " Il se trompait à l'égard de Péthion. Pour Manuel et Kersaint, ils " combattirent de tout leur pouvoir le projet de faire mourir le roi;

" et leurs efforts n'ayant pas eu de succès, ils donnèrent publiquement " leur démission et quittèrent la convention nationale, malgré les " observations de leurs amis, qui entrevoyaient les dangers de cette " conduite.

" L'un et l'autre périrent sur un échafaud lorsque les jacobins, " devenus les maîtres, proscrivirent tous ceux dont ils croyaient " avoir à se plaindre. Victimes honorables de leur fidélité à remplir " un engagement sacré, l'histoire doit célébrer leur dévouement " heroïque.

" On assure que lorsque les Autrichiens, maîtres de Condé, de " Valenciennes, et du Quesnoy, menaçaient la Picardie, les meneurs " jacobins résolurent de renouveler auprès de la reine les démarches " qui avaient réussi à Péthion, Manuel, et Kersaint auprès du roi. " L'expérience du passé devait prémunir cette princesse contre toute " sollicitation de cette nature. Elle refusa constamment de se " prêter à ce qu'on exigeait d'elle, quoiqu'on lui déclarât que sa " liberté et celle de ses enfans étaient à ce prix. Quelle épreuve " pour la tendresse maternelle! Mais le sort de son mari ne permet- " tait pas à un vain espoir de pénétrer dans le fond de l'ame de " Marie-Antoinette, et de tromper ses ennuis. La publicité de " cette anecdote m'a décidé d'en faire mention, quoique je n'aie " pas été à portée de vérifier si le fait était authentique."

Translation.

" TIME, which unveils the most secret political events, informs us that Louis XVI. was, during his imprisonment in the Temple, the principal cause of the unexpected retreat of the king of Prussia. I have it from MANUEL, attorney to the city of Paris, (equivalent to Recorder), that he, accompanied by PETHION and KERSAINT, persuaded Louis XVI. personally to request the

king of Prussia, in writing, to withdraw his troops from the French territory. THESE THREE MEN assured that imprisoned monarch, that upon his so doing depended not only his life, but that of his family.

" When, afterwards, the convention had condemned Louis to lose his life on the scaffold, he said to those who surrounded him, " I am sure that Pethion, and Manuel, and Kersaint, have not voted for my death." He deceived himself in regard to Pethion. As for Manuel and Kersaint they opposed, with all their power, the vote for the death of the king; and when they found that their efforts were useless, they publicly resigned their seats, and quitted the national convention, notwithstanding the observations (opposition) of their friends, who shewed them the danger of such a step.

" Both Manuel and Kersaint perished on the scaffold, when the Jacobins, become the rulers, proscribed all those whom they thought their enemies: honourable victims of the fidelity with which they fulfilled a sacred engagement! History ought to celebrate their heroic devotion to their duty.

" It is said, that when the Austrians were in possession of Valencieunes, Condé, and Quesnoy, and threatened Picardy, the leaders amongst the jacobins resolved to try the same scheme with the queen, that Pethion, Manuel, and Kersaint had successfully practised with the king. Past experience prepared the queen for resisting such a solicitation. The queen constantly refused to do what they desired, though they declared that her liberty, and that of her children, depended on it. What a trial for maternal affection to undergo! The fate of her unfortunate husband did not allow a vain hope to enter and banish care from the mind of Maria-Antoinette. The publicity of this latter anecdote determined me to mention it, though I have not had the means of ascertaining its authenticity."

In reading this extract, it is to be observed that the first part, relative to the retreat of the Prussians, and the application made by the king, is authentic, and directly on the authority of Manuel. "The second," says the author, "I give on account of its publicity, though I had no means of verifying it." This is certainly the language of a writer desirous of speaking truth and distinguishing between what was on good authority, and what was only public report. "As to Manuel, he was a most determined, resolute villain, but not a man likely to have told a lie in this case, though it is very probable he joined in deceiving the king, without any great anxiety as to the performance of the promise; and perhaps historians will do him sufficient justice when they say that he was not quite so guilty as his colleague Pethion, a man whose atrocities have seldom been equalled in any country or at any period."

Having given an extract from this work, so little known, the reader will not lose his time in perusing the following extract also:

"France had groaned for several centuries under every sort of oppression; absolutely crushed with enormous debts, and intollerable taxes; menaced with a still more deplorable futurity, and standing on the brink of a precipice, to which it had been dragged by misfortune and humiliation, it at once offered to the world a most interesting object, when, sacrificing its present tranquillity to its future welfare, renouncing at once what was good in its ancient system, it burst asunder all the links of the chain of established institutions which were worn out with age, misapplied by abuses introduced into them, and condemned by public opinion, or which were contrary to the great principles of *natural right*. Embellishing herself with all the fire of youth, the French nation proudly placed herself in the rank for which she was destined by nature. The mind of the reader, overcome by the picture of such an astonishing revolution, compares

it to those incomprehensible convulsions of nature which formerly changed the physical configuration of the habitable globe."

"Placed in the centre of this volcano, my soul burned with a desire to transmit to posterity the circumstances of that astonishing phenomenon of which my eyes were witness. Never did a similar event take place in an age enlightened by philosophy and the arts. The French revolution, prepared by the works of the greatest men, having for a model that of America, operated amongst a mild and social people, appeared to offer to the world nothing but majestic results; and whatever the most resolute enthusiasm, greatness of mind, and devotion to the public interest could produce."

"Men whom hell had vomited forth for the ruin of my country, seized rudely on the works of philosophy. I have seen France covered with scaffolds, and human blood shed in every quarter, saturating the unfortunate soil during two entire years of the most frightful, and most heart-breaking anarchy. Miscreants equally cowardly and savage, united by crime, emboldened by impunity, encouraged a contempt of law, the extinction of talents, the ruin of manufactures, the waste of the most useful objects of life, the pillage of houses, the division of lands, and the massacre of proprietors."

"That equality which they preached was one of the most ancient talismans employed by political charlatans to mislead and deceive the people. The Gracchi used it in ancient Rome, the levellers in England, and in modern Rome the Riensi. They knew that the depression of the good elevates the wicked, and that the silence of the wise gives force to innovators. The pen dropt from my hand, when I pourtrayed crimes of which imagination could scarcely conceive the reality."

"Let us examine the history of revolutions, we shall every where

and jacobins who fomented disorder, who made themselves the idols of the multitude, purchasing, at the price of their misery, and with their ignorance, crimes suited to their purposes, and for their benefit. We shall also see that the destruction of those spoilers (Brigands) was the dawn of public happiness. That reflection encouraged my mind, broken down with bitter reflections; I took courage, and pursued my labour with new vigour and ardour." Pages 16, 17, 18.

After this follows an invocation to truth, in plain prose, but with all the enthusiasm of a Frenchman and a poet: it is, however, much to be feared, that neither the directory, nor Buonaparte, would join in the invocation, except with regard to the past. In convivial criticism we except the present company; in France they except the present time.

Let the admirers of the French, and of those who seek theoretical change, read what is here said with attention. It is a true picture of the way that the French revolution began. Villains seized rudely on the labours of philosophers, and the wicked and designing led the wise and the worthy into a state of anarchy, and nothing more is wanted to produce all the evils which are here enumerated, and to which the writer bore witness.

The reflections of this writer on the tactics employed by the jacobins, to accomplish their ends, are admirable; and indeed who could be expected to be so capable of making just reflections on such revolutionists, as a writer who had been studying revolutions for ten years before, and who happened, besides, to have the miserable advantage of being a near spectator.

" Never," says the author of the reflections, " did any one understand so well as the jacobins, the secret springs which must be touched in order to set in motion the different political machines

that are necessary for intriguing men. The most able clock-maker does not construct or place the movements of the piece with greater art and skill than those artizans of fraud and villany display in managing the passions which they mean to excite, and direct to the execution of their projects."

"Never was the art of inspiring others with their own sentiments imperceptibly, so well known to any society as to the jacobins, who led others, as if without any design, to adopt principles which they might apply when occasion called for them. They bound, as it were, the future and the present time."

"The atrocious Machiavilism of their speeches gained over those patriots who wished for celebrity or tranquillity, until they were involved in the labyrinth of the schemes of their dark policy: ardent and restless patriots were pushed on to rash and inconsiderate actions: the timid and careless patriots became sanguinary through fear, or counter-revolutionary through weakness: the vain and ignorant sought revenge and renown by the way of treason and infamy; whilst the wicked, disturbed by remorse, sought for safety in the ruin of the state."

"The jacobins knew that men of firmness and talents, who seek, at all risks, the good of the country, are in number very few. For the most part, the public is composed of fools and knaves, with a great number of weak men, who, without fixed principles, or firmness, are led mechanically, adopting, or appearing to adopt, the opinion suggested to them. Vicious without bad intention, when vice predominates; they would be virtuous without merit, if virtue was in estimation. Custom is their law, example their motive, and shame their tyrant. Their inclinations are given by impulse, their wishes are dictated by complaisance."

FREDERICK VI.

KING OF DENMARK.

THE politics of the Danish court have been altogether selfish ever since the beginning of the present disturbances in Europe; and it is a striking example of the vicissitude of things, to observe Denmark, which, ten centuries ago, invaded and robbed England and France with impunity, and was the most powerful nation in Europe, both by sea and land, now exhibiting as the most feeble, and alternately coerced by England and France, the very countries it used so cruelly to torment. It might have been expected, that remaining at peace, and doing every thing to encourage trade, Denmark would have become very wealthy during the warfare carried on by other European nations. This was the more likely, that the commerce of Europe was banished to the north, by the violent conduct of the French, above fifteen years ago; yet nevertheless it does not appear that Denmark has increased in wealth; and now, at last, that it is dragged

into the contest, it will probably soon lose more than its natural proportion, should the war actually proceed.

At too great a distance from France, and too much exposed to the allies to depend on foreign protection, Denmark must absolutely protect herself; but that she will be ill-able to do, and all her misfortunes may be attributed to the crooked and selfish conduct of the court.

In a contest like the present, for the liberties of Europe, the nation that keeps aloof deserves to suffer, and Denmark has suffered, and will suffer more. If we may be allowed the expression, Denmark has been a sulky, sullen, power; an untractable, rather than a hostile one; but at the foundation both selfishness and cowardice are very visible.

The actual causes of the present rupture with England, are not sufficiently known, to say how far the one or the other country may have been unreasonable; but this much is certain, that the power that would assist France, voluntarily, in enslaving the rest of Europe, deserves herself to be enslaved.

For several centuries Denmark has been of very little importance in Europe, and indeed ever since

robbery and plunder ceased to be the means of obtaining wealth for a state, Denmark has sunk. Lubeck, and other towns on the south shore of the Baltic, and the Hans Towns in general, rose in commercial wealth just in the same proportion that Denmark fell; and very little foresight must the Danes have had in the days of their power not to establish a more solid empire than that which they have, consisting, first, of Zealand, an island too inconsiderable to defend itself; then, of Holstein, an extreme point of the continent, which any of the nations, even of second-rate importance, might have taken. The third portion, separated from the other two, consists of Norway, an extensive, barren, and mountainous country, formed, by geographical position, to be united to Sweden, of which it forms a sort of maritime border; a country inaccessible to an enemy, but likewise unable to assist in any warfare of offence.

Denmark, thus divided by nature, may be considered as a kingdom only existing upon sufferance, and by no means maintaining itself by its own strength; her wise policy would then have been, to conciliate her neighbours, or, at least, not to encourage any thing that would annoy them, or endanger their safety; the present king, however, has

chosen to quarrel with his neighbours, notwithstanding the lesson received from Lord Nelson, and the still more recent one when the fleet was carried off, after bombarding Copenhagen.

Denmark is a strong example of the misfortunes that attend either states or individuals, who prefer their private ends, (which they seek by circuitous means), at the expense of the general welfare of the body of which they compose a part; or in other words, who prefer intrigue and interest to honour and good faith. If Denmark falls she will have none to pity her, for she was seeking her own interest, when the liberties of mankind were at stake; and she joined with the despot merely from a false calculation of self-interest, regardless of right or wrong, or the general welfare of mankind.

But if the conduct of the Danish court has been marked by degradation, and want of principle it has been no less so by folly, and short lived views of things. Whatever may be the momentary triumph of France, no one can be so ignorant as to expect permanency to an empire like that which has for a short time existed; or even, if in opposition to all probability, the French empire were to remain at its present extent, when did his Majesty of Denmark

learn that the word of Buonaparte was to be trusted? Is it from Austria, or Prussia, or Spain, or Venice, or Genoa, or Switzerland, or Holland, that Denmark learnt to place confidence in Buonaparte? It is more probable that French gold has made its way into the cabinet of Denmark, and blinded his Majesty both to his honour and his interest.

Denmark will now probably be obliged to depend on the good nature of the European powers, whose cause she abandoned, for the preservation of her states, which will depend entirely on them, as she has not in herself the means of defence; and the despot with whom she has taken a disgraceful and dishonourable part, will be unable to give her any assistance.

END OF VOL. I.

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